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ABSTRACT

This document presents two overview essays (one on the ethnic history of the United States and one on multicultural society) and seven articles on various aspects of the relationship between ethnic values and mental health. Articles were originally presented as papers at a series of seminars convened to encourage humanists from four ethnic groups (Asian Americans, American Indians, Hispanic Americans, and Black Americans) to develop a realistic and culturally sensitive perspective on ethnic mental health. Seminar participants included psychologists, educators, authors of books on ethnic groups, a director of a black studies center, and an Indian medicine man. Issues addressed by seminar participants included the influence of values from ethnic cultures on conceptions of mental health, the need to alter public policies and delivery systems so that they would contribute to an increase in minority participation in mental health services, and ways of structuring therapy so that the strengths of an ethnic culture would be utilized as healing factors. Titles are "Born and Bred in the Briarpatch: Models of Mental Health in the Black Folkloric Past," "Psycho-historical Implications of the Well-being of Blacks: Struggle for Survival," "Beyond Manzanar: A Personal View of Asian-American Womanhood," "Mental Health Needs as Affected by Historical and Contemporary Experiences," "The Life and Practice of a Contemporary Medicine Man," "Puerto Ricans in the U.S.: The Adopted Citizen," and "La Familia: Myths and Realities." (DB)

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ETHNIC LIFESTYLES AND MENTAL HEALTH

Edited by Gloria Valencia-Weber, Psychology Department

Oklahoma State University

1980

These papers are derived from presentations made at the Ethnic Lifestyles and Mental Health Seminars at Oklahoma State University, February through April, 1978. These seminars were sponsored by the Oklahoma State University Psychology Department and were made possible in part by a grant from the Oklahoma Humanities Committee and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

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Contents

Acknowledgements 4

Preface 6

Overview, Part I: Comments on the Ethnic History of the United States--Gloria Valencia-Weber, H. Stephen Caldwell, and Kenneth D. Sandvold 19

Born and Bred in the Briarpatch: Models of Mental Health in the Black Folkloric Past--Mary Helen Washington 37

Psycho-historical Implications of the Well-being of Blacks: Struggle for Survival--Dalmas A. Taylor 63

Beyond Manzanar: A Personal View of Asian-American Womanhood--Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston 93

Mental Health Needs as Affected by Historical and Contemporary Experiences--Stanley Sue 115

The Life and Practice of a Contemporary Medicine Man-Joseph Eagle Elk and Gerald Mohatt (translator) 139

Puerto Ricans in the U.S.: The Adopted Citizen--Nicholasa Mohr . . 147

La Familia: Myths and Realities--Rene A. Ruiz 159

Overview, Part II: A Reflection--Gloria Valencia-Weber, H. Stephen Caldwell, and Kenneth D. Sandvold 185

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Oklahoma State University Gloria Valencia-Weber

Preface

In 1971 the Psychology Department of Oklahoma State University made a formal commitment to increase the number of psychologists from ethnic or bicultural backgrounds. The program was accelerated in 1976 with the hiring of a program coordinator. The department's efforts have been successful -- over 20% of the 1979-80 psychology graduate students are persons of ethnic or bicultural backgounds. This unusual success is in contrast to a national norm which includes minority students as 6% of graduate program enrollments.

Eventually the department's efforts began to develop beyond the commitment to recruit and train ethnic students. Faculty and students together sought ways to improve coursework and training experiences to include ethnic cultural issues in psychology for all students. It became clear (and remains so today) that a commitment to provide multicultural psychology graduate training is not sufficient for meeting minority community needs. Our faculty and the resources of the state did not include enough knowledgeable persons or programs sensitive to ethnic issues in psychology, especially in the area of mental health. A grant proposal was submitted to and approved by the Oklahoma Humanities Committee, the state committee of the National Endowment for the Humanities, for a program series titled Ethnic Lifestyles and Mental Health. It was true in 1978 and remains so today that exploration of the relationship between ethnic values and mental health is necessary. The predominantly white culturally-based approaches are not adequate for understanding psychological well-being in the ethnic community context.

The present status of ethnic community mental health is that psychologists with bicultural backgrounds are underrepresented as college teachers, researchers, and therapists. This condition is related to the scarcity of culturally appropriate mental health services, which also has some bearing on the low participation rate among minorities in the existing mental health care programs. By inviting knowledgeable humanists to present information and to interact with the general public, it was hoped that a realistic and culturally sensitive perspective on ethnic mental health could develop.

In the papers presented by the invited humanists and in the accompanying discussions, the following questions were addressed: How do values ("ought to/ought not to" guides to behavior) from ethnic cultures influence our conception of mental health and mental illness? In what form do these values survive in contemporary multicultural Americans? How do acculturation, education, and other processes affect the retention of ethnic values, and thus, the behavior of bicultural people? When value conflicts occur, what is the effect on mental health in minority and nonminority populations? If value conflicts occur and consequent behavior indicates emotional instability, what cultural aspects should be considered by health care providers in administering therapy? In what ways can public policies and delivery systems be altered to increase minority participation in mental health services? How can therapy be structured so that the strengths of an ethnic culture are utilized as a healing factor?

The humanists' papers were presented in a four-week series of programs in Spring, 1978. The series involved persons from each of four ethnic population groups: Asian American, American Indian, Hispanic American, and Black American. The primary resource persons were selected because

of professional and scholarly credentials in their disciplines and because of their knowledge as members or ethnic communities. Humanists were selected from the social sciences as well as the traditional, literary fields. It was felt that while there would be commonality in their perspectives of ethnic lifestyles, the methodology and style used by these humanists would differ and thereby provide a richer picture of topics discussed. Some areas of commonality emerged, especially in the concern for personal achievement and personal failure and the role of individualism versus group efforts. These mutual concerns were evident in the papers and discussions as were the contrasting styles of expression. In this respect the program achieved diversity within the ethnic community and among ethnic group outlooks. Spirited discussion offering both confirming and differing views continued as the papers were prepared for publication.

The following humanists served as primary sources for the ethnic lifestyles series. They are described in the introduction to their papers.

Black Americans

Mary Helen Washington, Ph.D., Director, Center for Black Studies, University of Detroit

Dalmas Taylor, Ph.D., Professor, Department of Psychology, University of Maryland

Asian Americans

Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston, writer and author of Farewell to Manzanar

Stanley Sue, Ph.D., Professor, Department of Psychology, University of Washington

American Indians

Joseph Eagle Elk, Medicine Man, Rosebud Medicine Men and Associates

Gerald Mohatt, Ed.D., community psychologist, Rosebud Community Mental Health Project, Sinte Gleska College

Hispanic Americans

Nicholasa Mohr, graphic artist and author of Nilda and In Neuva York

Rene Ruiz, Ph.D., Professor, Family Study Center, University of Missouri-Kansas City

The humanists were matched so that psychologists and nonpsychologists served as resources during the programs devoted to each ethnic population. These humanists prepared a primary paper and were respondents for presentations by their accompanying humanist. The responding panels included members of the Oklahoma ethnic communities and other humanists who provided enrichment and information related to the concerns of Oklahomans. Oklahoma community participation was significant, as over 800 people attended the seminars. The cosponsors of this project included the Oklahoma State University Women's Council, the Oklahoma State University Native American Association, the Oklahoma State University Chicano Community Association, the Oklahoma State University Afro-American Society, the Oklahoma City Mexican-American Cultural Center, the Oklahoma Mexican-American Political Caucus, and the Governor's Advisory Council on Spanish-American Relations. The participating audience represented the multicultural rainbow that comprises Oklahoma's population. The presentations by the humanists were videotaped and now serve as teaching tools available through OSU and the Oklahoma Humanities Committee. Complete program details follow this foreword.

Once the series was completed, the humanists were given an opportunity to revise initial manuscripts and to incorporate ideas from the seminar discussions. The publication of these papers was delayed by a desire of the project planners to provide some perspective on the humanists' ideas as they relate to contemporary trends in psychology. Finding an author with insight into contemporary trends in psychology and with some appreciation of ethnic history and values proved to be difficult. Within the humanities and the social sciences this expertise was not easily found, nor was it possible to convince one scholar to review papers from all four cultures. The project planners wanted to have an overview or response which included the ethnic history and values of all four groups and which related ideas which were common to all groups. Eventually, the task was undertaken by two clinical psychologists and the director of this project. It proved to be a formidable and challenging task to write the overview to these humanists' papers. As multiple authors we hopefully covered some of the important ideas which single authorship could have slighted.

Having been presented with the history of this project, the reader's attention can now be focused on the humanists' papers and the overview. The purpose of the overview is to react to and discuss the ideas which were developed in the seminars. It is not our intention to offer a comparative literature review of the humanities or mental health literature on ethnic populations. This overview (in two parts) is an effort to capture some of that reactive quality which made the seminars enlightening for all participants. The papers presented by the seminar speakers do provide literature lists and we urge readers to use these references. Information

on ethnic history has been derived from classroom materials used by the overview's authors. However, persons needing a basic introduction to such information could start with the bibliography at the conclusion of Part II of the overview.

The first section of this publication, Overview, Part I, discusses the ethnic history which needs to be considered as part of the discussion of mental health and ethnic lifestyles. The second section of the publication contains the chapters written by the humanists, they are reproduced as submitted with minor changes. The third section of the book, Overview, Part II, discusses the present and future characteristics of the American multicultural society, the situation of the ethnic individual in the multicultural society, and the implications for mental health training and practices.

The experience with this project has had significant effect on the lives of those involved in its implementation. Judging from the responses of some persons who attended the seminars, there are others who have benefited from this unusual opportunity for multicultural reciprocity. It is our hope that the new participants in this project, the readers of this book, will also share in the benefits of this effort.

Ethnic Lifestyles and Mental Health

Sponsored by the Psychology Department of Oklahoma State University, this program was made possible in part by a grant from the Oklahoma Humanities Committee and the National Endowment for the Humanities. The seminars were presented at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, February through April of 1978. The seminars are listed as presented, with all participating humanists, dates, and times, so that the reader can understand the structure which produced this publication.

Cosponsors of the seminars included the Oklahoma State University Afro-American Society, the Oklahoma State University Chicano Community Association, the Oklahoma State University Native American Student Association, the Oklahoma State University Women's Council, the Oklahoma City Mexican-American Cultural Center, the Governor's Advisory Council on Spanish-American Relations, and the Oklahoma Mexican-American Political Caucus.

Black Americans, February 15-16, 1978

Wednesday, February 15

7:30 p.m., Georgian Lounge, Student Union

Mary Helen Washington, Ph.D., Director, Center for Black Studies, University of Detroit

"Born and Bred in the Briar Patch: Models of Mental Health From the Black Folkloric Past"

Respondents:

George Henderson, Ph.D., S.N. Goldman Professor and Chair, Department of Human Relations, University of Oklahoma

Dalmas Taylor

Thursday, February 16

10:30 a.m., Georgian Lounge, Student Union

Informal discussion with Mary Helen Washington, to focus on ethnic studies, literature, and humanities concerns

3:30 p.m., Georgian Lounge, Student Union

Informal discussion with Dalmas Taylor, to focus on psychology and mental health issues

7:30 p.m., Georgian Lounge, Student Union

Dalmas Taylor, Ph.D., Professor, Department of Psychology, University of Maryland

"Psycho-Historical Implications of the Well-Being of Blacks: Struggle for Survival"

Respondents:

Hannah Atkins, Member, Oklahoma House of Representatives, Oklahoma City*

Mary Helen Washington

*Circumstances prevented Representative Atkins from participating in the program. Dr. Earl Mitchell, Vice-Chair of the Oklahoma Advisory Committee for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission served as a respondent.

Asian Americans, March 8-9, 1978

Wednesday, March 8

7:30 p.m., Case Study C, Student Union

Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston, writer and author of Farewell to Manzanar

"Beyond Manzanar: A Personal View of Asian-American Womanhood"

Respondents:

George Ing, Chair, Chinese Cultural Exposition Committee, Shawnee, and Professor, Health Sciences, St. Gregory's College

Stanley Sue

Thursday, March 9

10:30 a.m., North Tower, Student Union

Informal discussion with Stanley Sue, to focus on psychology and mental health concerns

1:30 p.m., North Tower, Student Union

Informal discussion with Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston, to focus on Asian-American concerns in humanities

7:30 p.m., Case Study C, Student Union

Stanley Sue, Ph.D., Professor, Department of Psychology, University of Washington

"Mental Health Needs as Affected by Historical and Contemporary Experiences"

Respondents:

Robert Spaulding, Ph.D., Associate Professor, Department of History, Oklahoma State University

Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston

American Indians, March 23-24, 1978

Thursday, March 23*

7:30 p.m., Classroom Building 313

Joseph Eagle Elk, medicine man; Stanley Redbird, Chairman of the Rosebud Medicine Men and Associates; Lorenzo Eagleroad, singer; and Gerald Mohatt, Ed.D., community psychologist. All are members of the Community Mental Health Project, Sinte Gleska College, Rosebud, South Dakota. These four resource people will discuss traditional native medicine and its possible relationship to non-Indian forms of therapy.

"The Life and Practice of a Contemporary Medicine Man"

Respondents:

Marlene Echohawk, Ph.D., Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Psychology, Oklahoma State University

Charles Noble, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Anthropology, Native American Studies, Northeastern Oklahoma State University

Friday, March 24*

10:30 a.m., North Tower, Student Union

Informal discussion with Joseph Eagle Elk, Stanley Redbird, Lorenzo Eagleroad, and Gerald Mohatt on American Indian concerns in the humanities

3:30 p.m., North Tower, Student Union

Informal discussion with Joseph Eagle Elk, Stanley Redbird, Lorenzo Eagleroad, and Gerald Mohatt on mental health

*The program was altered as Dr. Mohatt could not participate because of the death of a Rosebud medicine man immediately prior to the seminars.

Hispanic Americans, April 12-13, 1978

Wednesday, April 12

7:30 p.m., Case Study A, Student Union

Nicholasa Mohr, graphic artist and author of Nilda and In Neuva York

"Puerto Ricans in the U.S.: The Adopted Citizen"

Respondents:

Ricardo Valdes, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Spanish, Department of Modern Languages, University of Oklahoma

Rene Ruiz

Thursday, April 13

10:30 a.m., Willham Lounge, Student Union

Informal discussion with Rene Ruiz on issues in psychology and mental health

1:30 p.m., Willham Lounge, Student Union

Informal discussion with Nicholasa Mohr on Hispanic concerns in the humanities

7:30 p.m., Case Study A, Student Union

Rene Ruiz, Ph.D., Professor, Family Study Center, University of Missouri-Kansas City

"La Familia: Myths and Realities"

Respondents:

Edward Esparza, M.D., Chair, the Governor's Advisory Council on Spanish-American Relations

Nicholasa Mohr

Overview, Part I: Comments on the Ethnic History of the United States

Gloria Valencia-Weber, H. Stephen Caldwell, and Kenneth D. Sandvold

GLORIA VALENCIA-WEBER

Gloria Valencia-Weber served as the Director of the Ethnic Lifestyles and Mental Health Project. After undergraduate training at Arizona State University, Valencia-Weber earned a masters degree in intercultural communication from the Speech Department at Oklahoma State University (OSU). Besides academic teaching experience, she has worked in community organizing with civil rights and civil liberties groups. In 1976 Valencia-Weber became Coordinator of the Diversified Students Program in the OSU Psychology Department. The goal of this program is to increase the number of psychologists from populations presently underrepresented in or underserved by psychology.

H. STEPHEN CALDWELL

H. Stephen Caldwell is a professor and the Coordinator of the OSU Psychological Services Center. Since earning a Ph.D. from Purdue University, Caldwell has specialized in clinical and pediatric psychology. His interests also include professional ethics and training programs in psychology. His current work involves children's conceptualizations of death and relationships in families where a child has cancer. Caldwell currently serves as President of the Oklahoma Psychological Association and has been Chair of the Oklahoma State Board of Examiners of Psychologists.

KENNETH D. SANDVOLD

Kenneth D. Sandvold is a professor and Director of the OSU Clinical Psychology Program. His Ph.D. was earned at the University of Illinois. The structure and content of clinical graduate programs are a special interest for him. Sandvold serves on the accreditation committees which visit and evaluate psychology graduate training programs for the American Psychological Association. A past president of the Oklahoma Psychological Association, he also has served on the Oklahoma State Board of Examiners of Psychologists. An interest in the aging population is also a continuing concern for Sandvold.

Ethnic Populations in the United States

The United States acquired a multicultural population through many processes, including immigration, servitude, and some ethnic-specific experiences. This multicultural history of the United States is often ignored. A more comprehensive view of U.S. history and how ethnic populations were involved is necessary in considering the ideas and issues raised in the ethnic lifestyles and mental health papers published herein. Group and personal experiences, especially legal restrictions of citizen rights based on ethnic identity, have contributed to the feelings, ideas, and hopes expressed in these humanistic papers.

A brief view of the continuum through which the United States became a multi-ethnic country could be outlined as follows:

Pre-1492	Pre-Columbian networks of native populations established in North America
1519	Cortez and the Spanish entered Mexico City (Tenochtitlán) and the Spanish colonization of North America began
1619	Black slaves delivered and sold in the English North American colonies
1800-1880s	Primarily Northern and Western European immigrants entered the United States (from Ireland, Germany, England, Holland, Scandinavian countries)
1830	President Andrew Jackson recommended and Congress passed legislation to remove American Indians from their homelands to Oklahoma (Indian Territory)

1848	The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo established, by which the United States acquired Southwestern States from Mexico
1863-1865	Slavery outlawed in all states by Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, but enforcement of the proclamation not possible until the end of the United States Civil War in 1865
1871	Congress passed legislation terminating the practice of negotiating treaties with Indian tribes; thereafter congressional acts and executive orders determined Indian rights
1880s-1920s	Primarily Central European and Mediterranean immigrants entered the United States (from Italy, Hungary, Russia, Austria, Balkans, Poland) plus some Asians
1882-1884	Laws passed to end Chinese immigration, prohibited the immigration of wives and dependents of Chinese already in America, and denied citizenship to Chinese already in America
1907	The record year for immigration as 1,300,000 persons entered the United States
1917	The Jones Act passed which made Puerto Ricans citizens of the United States and subject to military draft

1921	The Johnson Act passed which established national origin quotas to control immigration
1924	Immigration laws changed to exclude Asians and Africans, but no quotas imposed for Northern and Western Europe
1924	The Snyder Act passed which granted citizenship to American Indians
1942	Under Executive Order 9066, 110,000 Japanese Americans were interned
1943	Chinese immigrants allowed to become naturalized citizens
1952	Japanese immigrants allowed to become naturalized citizens
1961-1972	Cubans immigrated to the United States
1965	Immigration laws changed to allow immigration without national origin quotas
1975	Vietnamese immigrated to the United States
1970s	Hispanic countries, especially Mexico, became the primary source of immigrants to the United States

Three patterns emerge in the course of the history of the United States: (1) both voluntary and involuntary means were used to add new citizens; (2) immigration access to the United States has been granted in a discriminatory manner; and (3) access to and residency in the United States did not guarantee equality in citizen rights. These three patterns

of treatment are evident if one looks closely at United States history. However, it is unlikely that the general public recognizes these important ways in which ethnic Americans become part of this country.

The Involuntary Citizens

Many Americans assume that all ethnic populations became part of the United States through a similar process and consequently had similarly equal opportunities to succeed. This perception ignores the difference between the voluntary and involuntary annexation or forced migration of some ethnic groups. The involuntary acquisition of citizens was not limited to blacks; American Indian tribes and some Hispanic groups were similarly treated. This involuntary acquisition contributed to the present heightened concern among ethnic groups about their lack of power and control over their lives. The papers of the humanists presented here reiterate this deeply felt need for power to control what happens to individuals and to the ethnic community. Because of slavery, Black Americans are often perceived only as involuntary immigrants. While most Black Americans are descendants of slaves sold in America, a few blacks voluntarily came to America. The first group of twenty blacks who landed in the English North American colonies in 1619 have variously been described as persons sold as slaves and as indentured servants with the potential for earning their freedom. Blacks had become part of European populations; some came as indentured workers; a few earned their freedom. Prior to their entry as slaves, blacks had a significant role in the settlement of America. Yet this fact is often ignored. Blacks were part of the sixteenth-century Spanish expeditions in North America, which extensively explored present-day United States. The exploring parties of Columbus, Coronado, Cortez, and

Balboa all included blacks. However, by the late seventeenth century, regardless of how blacks arrived in America, most were slaves both by custom and by laws passed in the colonies.

All indigenous North American people, that is, American Indians, Native Alaskans, and Native groups in Canada and Mexico were absorbed within the United States as it expanded; they did not actually enter a new country through immigration. While such groups are often generalized as one population (e.g., American Indians, Native Americans) the reality of the past and the present is that no <u>one</u> generalized population exists. Over 500 tribes, pueblos, clans, and other groups comprise this population. Even prior to Columbus' arrival, they had established networks across North America, such as the Creek Confederacy or the League of the Iroquois, which affiliated for common needs. These networks maintained the special identity and culture of each group, and present-day American Indian lifestyles and affiliations continue this tradition. Labels such as "American Indian" are a categorizing convenience for the United States government, but they are not the way North American natives express their personal identity either in the present or in the past. Those labeled as American Indians became incorporated into the United States through a costly series of wars, treaties, relocation mandates, and agreements. In return for Indian lands, the United States government promised to provide for the health, education, and general welfare of American Indians. Often this legal obligation is ignored by those who would label the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), the Indian Health Service, the Office of Indian Education, and other programs as unearned welfare for Indians. For American Indian groups, this involuntary set of agreements was more than a real estate

transaction. There was a loss of culture deeply identified with specific lands, and this loss is still mourned among contemporary American Indians.

Some Hispanic Americans also experienced involuntary citizenship, with variation among groups. Puerto Ricans first were conquered by the Spanish, who then lost Puerto Rico to the United States in the Spanish-American War of 1898. Puerto Ricans were not considered United States citizens until 1917, and for many Puerto Ricans, the United States ownership of the island simply continued the colonial or conquered status which began with the Spanish in the fifteenth century. Hispanics in the southwestern United States experienced a change in citizenship because of the Mexican-American War. The war ended in 1848 with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which added the southwestern states of Arizona, California, New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, and part of Colorado to the Union. The Hispanics and Mexicans in this area were offered the right to become citizens of the United States (few refused) and the treaty was supposed to guarantee these Mexican-Americans all the rights of citizens of the United States.

The colonial efforts of the United States resulted in the natives of Hawaii becoming part of the United States. First the Republic of Hawaii was established when American planters overthrew Queen Liliuokalani in 1893 and established Stanford B. Dole as president. In 1898 Hawaii became a territory of the United States, and statehood was granted in 1959. With each step of annexation to the United States, native Hawaiian culture was diluted and ethnic identity became less distinct as a result of intermarriage to outsiders. Today, many question whether a native Hawaiian culture and ethnic distinction can be maintained or preserved. The Hawaiian experience may be the most striking instance in which assimilation into the American melting pot could end a distinctive ethnic culture.

Alaska was acquired through purchase from Russia in 1867, and the Alaska governmental policies for American Indians were applied to Alaska Natives. The governing institutions or political capacities of Alaska Natives were discounted by both the Russian and the United States governments. Geographical isolation has generally sheltered the Alaska Natives from some of the more pernicious effects of contemporary American society. However, two experiences have broken this isolation and threaten the traditional society of Eskimos and Alaska Natives, and they have little, if any, power to exercise in these matters. One is the removal of children to BIA schools on the mainland. The other is the recent development of oil resources. While mineral rights of Alaska Natives have been protected in the oil development, little is being done to protect indigenous cultures from the effects of urban living, industrialization, and outmarriage.

Inequality and Immigration

Opportunity to migrate to the United States has not been granted in an equitable manner throughout the history of this country. The changes in immigration law accurately reflected the feelings and prejudices of Americans. Some groups, though initially welcomed to America, later fell into disfavor and became the targets of discrimination and legal restrictions. In the 1850s the Chinese were vigorously recruited to come to the United States, especially when needed as labor for mines and railroads. However, their industriousness was seen as an economic threat. This, combined with the negative characteristics assigned to Chinese by hostile white racists, resulted in laws ending all Chinese immigration. After the Chinese were barred, the continuing demand for labor in the 1880s led to the recruitment of Japanese, who were perceived as hard workers and desirable immigrants.

However, by 1924 the Japanese were branded by the same charge which had made the Chinese undesirable. Filipinos and Mexicans followed the Japanese as the next groups of desirable cheap labor for agriculture, but they also suffered from disfavor and ethnic-specific legal restrictions. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was expanded to prevent wives and dependents from joining the Chinese men already in America. Combined with state laws which prohibited Chinese from marrying white American females, these immigration laws seriously damaged the family life of Chinese in the United States. In 1890 the Chinese male to female ratio was 27 to 1. Many men were condemned to live without families, which are highly valued in Chinese culture. Under the 1921 and 1924 changes in immigration law, Japanese immigration was completely restricted. The period prior to this restriction allowed Japanese some opportunities to build family life, including the "picture bride" arrangements by which marriages were enacted between Japanese men in the United States and young women in Japan. White racist fears about the Japanese focused especially on the "picture bride" arrangement, with alarming publicity which exaggerated the number of brides and the fertility rate among Japanese.

Immigration to the United States reached its peak in 1907 when 1,300,000 left their native lands and entered the United States. This impressive rate was also alarming to many, especially to those in the nativist movements who aimed to restrict immigration to the United States and to protect the interests of native-born Americans. The heavy lobbying for restrictive immigration laws, the intense anti-foreign propaganda, and violent outbursts such as the 1886 Haymarket Riot in Chicago extended to all persons not of northern European Protestant ancestry. Besides Black-

Americans, Mexicans, and Asian Americans, persons of southern and eastern European ancestry, Jews, and Catholics occasionally became victims of attack and murder.

In 1921 the immigration laws were changed to a quota system which restricted annual immigration to three percent of the number of each nationality residing in the United States according to the 1910 census. This change was followed in 1924 by an act which further restricted the immigration of Asians, Africans, and southeastern Europeans. Asians and Africans had not been a large population in the United States in 1910, so the quotas almost entirely eliminated immigration from some countries. This quota was further curtailed in 1952 when changes in the immigration law required that immigrants with as much as one-half Asian blood born outside the Asian-Pacific triangle be charged against the quota of the specific Asian-Pacific country of the bloodline. All other immigrants would be charged against the quota of their country of birth.

The 1965 immigration law eliminated the unfair national origin quotas and allowed freer immigration for all nationalities. This change resulted in a new pattern in immigration. The greatest source of new citizens in the 1960s was Canada; by the mid-seventies, however, Mexico and Latin American countries supplied the most immigrants. Most of the Mexican immigrants have arrived since 1920. Hispanics (Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cuban Americans, and the persons of Latin American ancestry) are projected to become the largest ethnic minority population in the United States in the 1980s. The impact of the Hispanic culture upon the United States is already felt in issues such as bilingual education. Retention of their native culture is quite likely because of the geographical proximity to the United States.

Also, the immigrating parents or relatives do not have the generational distance that exists between some contemporary generations and their ancestors who immigrated in the nineteenth century.

Inequality in Citizen Rights

Once people entered the United States or were incorporated into the country, ethnic populations did not always enjoy equal rights as citizens. For many groups, achieving legal status as citizens required a struggle, and the process by which citizenship was achieved was quite varied. For blacks to attain legal rights as citizens required that the entire country engage in the Civil War. The post-Civil War constitutional amendments to guarantee rights to Black Americans were followed by state laws and de facto segregation practices which denied blacks their full civil rights.

Asian immigrants, especially Chinese and Japanese, who were not allowed to become naturalized citizens, were prohibited from marrying non-Asians (i.e., American white women), and were denied the right to lease or own land. Further, they were not allowed to operate or own certain businesses, nor to testify in court in many states, and were denied due process for redressing their grievances. These inequalities in rights led to the phrase "A Chinaman's chance" to describe a situation in which a positive or just outcome could not be expected. Chinese immigrants were not allowed to become naturalized citizens until 1943, when the sympathy for China's struggles in World War II became popular.

The Japanese in the United States suffered under a unique form of discrimination during World War II when President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066 forcibly removed Japanese immigrants and Japanese-American citizens to internment camps. Some 110,000 persons were interned in ten concentration camps. Besides suffering loss of citizen rights,

personal property, land, and businesses, Japanese-American family stability was damaged by internment. Ironically, internment did not include the Japanese Americans in Hawaii because of their large population in that territory. The fear of treasonous behavior among Japanese prompted the internment policy. This behavior did not occur. In fact, Japanese-American soldiers were among the most decorated for valor and bravery among United States servicemen in World War II.

When Puerto Ricans were declared citizens of the United States in 1917, their rights as citizens were restricted. Puerto Ricans could be drafted for military service but could not vote in United States elections nor have a voting representative in Congress.

Military service has also been a condition for securing citizenship for American Indians. Until 1924, American Indians could obtain citizenship only through service in the military or by proving themselves able farmers or ranchers according to the terms of the Dawes Act. Though Indians were granted rights to citizenship in 1924, their lands are held in trust by the government. Indians cannot unilaterally manage, lease, or sell their own lands. In providing education for Indians as required under treaties and agreements, the government removed children from Indian homes to send them to boarding schools geographically remote from the Indian communities. For example, Alaskan Native children were sent to Oklahoma. For many American Indians, this educational benefit has meant a loss of the right of parents and children to live as a family. This practice continues to be considered by many to be both an edcational failure and a destroyer of American Indian communities.

The preceding discussion points out that the United States has historically been a multicultural society. However, this society did not really become a melting pot because equal opportunity and legitimacy were denied to many ethnic groups, sometimes in ethnic-specific processes and laws. Believers in the melting pot view of the United States often ask, "Why can't they become like the rest of us?" Such a question denies or ignores the historic conditions which prevented ethnic persons, even if they wished to assimilate, from enjoying all the rights of the predominantly white majority culture. Distinct and allegedly inferior physical differences were used to justify discriminatory laws, such as the segregation and miscegenation laws and the California Queues Ordinance which required the removal of the "pigtail" hairstyle from Chinese males. No matter what economic or educational achievements were attained by minorities, their obvious unchangeable ethnicity restricted their opportunities and rights.

The tenuous status of many ethnic populations is related to their efforts to preserve their native culture in the United States. If an ethnic person suffers rejection, often in the form of race-specific restrictive laws, then that person's ethnic culture becomes especially important. The ethnic culture becomes critical to establishing and maintaining one's personal identity, values, and goals. Immigrants could presumably return to the country of origin if rejection became too severe. At times, the United States government offered to subsidize and pay for immigrants volunteering to return to their native country. For example, the Repatriation Act of 1935 offered free transportation to Filipinos who would return to the Philippines. American Indians, Native Alaskans, and some Hispanics did not have such a return option and consequently were left in the limbo of being non-citizens in their indigenous country. Some

contemporary Indians, born before the granting of automatic citizenship in 1924 or else raised by parents born before 1924, express a tenacious commitment to preserve Indian culture. This expression is also a commitment to preserve an enduring personal identity.

Ambivalence about bicultural identity is found among ethnic persons and in the majority population. Members of the nonethnic population are sometimes unsure, sometimes hostile to the idea that bicultural people are entitled to have their ethnicity recognized as a positive factor. The ethnic person struggles with how to express an integrated bicultural identity without suffering penalties from the majority society and from one's own ethnic community. The humanistic authors of these papers point out that the contemporary America includes some patterns of behavior which interfere with developing a multicultural society which recognizes ethnic diversity and utilizes that diversity as a positive force. These patterns and the consequences of their use will be discussed in Overview, Part II: A Reflection.

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Born and Bred in the Briarpatch: Models of Mental Health in the Black Folkloric Past

Mary Helen Washington

MARY HELEN WASHINGTON

Mary Helen Washington was born and raised in Cleveland, Ohio. She graduated from Notre Dame in 1962 with degrees in French and English. Her masters and doctoral degrees are from the University of Detroit. Washington has taught in the area of Black Studies at the University of Detroit, and in 1975 she was appointed Director of the Black Studies Program. Author of numerous articles, she also has published Black Eyed Susans and Midnight Birds: Stories of Contemporary Black Women, collections of short stories by and about black women.

The most comprehensive treatment of the black person's struggle for an identity in American society is Ralph Ellison's Invisible Man (1952). Generally, critical attention has been focused on the narrator in this novel, a man picking and stomping, crying and battling his way through three decades of American abuse. With his tragic sense of invisibility, his utter conviction of the righteousness of the American way, he needs electrical shock treatments to finally convince him that the American way is actually based on the denial of his very existence.

Ellison depicts the invisible man as not only blind to the game that is being played on him, but invisible to himself because he is incapable of separating himself from the American dream, from white America's definition of who he is. He plays the game and plays it well--on his graduation from a Southern high school, he gives the valedictory address that supports and approves the Southern system, leaning heavily on the theme of social responsibility that Negroes have not to disturb the privileges of white male southerners. That night he dreams that in his graduation gift, a briefcase, he finds an engraved document containing a short message in gold letters: "Keep This Nigger-Boy Running." The invisible man does indeed keep running "like a nigger." He attends a southern college where he learns carefully the lessons of Booker T. Washington that in order to survive in the southern Jim Crow system a black person must abhor all notions of open revolt, conflict, or agitation and put on a mask of docility, meekness, industriousness, with not the least hint of bitterness. He fails to live this message only once when he takes a white trustee back to the slum quarters. And Dr. Bledsoe, the black president of the college is appalled at this young black man who knows so little about survival in the South.

"My God, boy! You're black and living in the South--
did you forget how to lie?. . .Why the dumbest black
bastard in the cotton patch knows that the only way to
please a white man is to tell him a lie!" (p. 107).

The invisible man is then expelled from the college and goes North. In the industrial, urban North he is still not able to manage life on his own terms. He cannot get a job because the letters of recommendation he is carrying are actually letters that inform his prospective employers that he is a failure and a disgrace and is, under no circumstances, to be hired or to be told about the contents of the letters. In his absolute ignorance the invisible man never reads these letters himself because he has been told not to read them--so he keeps running.

Later when he is hired in a paint factory, he is once again incapable of surviving even in those relatively simple circumstances because he cannot get along with the old black man named Brockway, the foreman in charge of the boiler room. Brockway is jealously guarding the authority he has as basement executive, and he is desperately afraid the invisible man is going to undermine his position. In a short time the invisible man manages to forget about the pressure of the gauges in the boiler room and the whole basement explodes, knocking him into unconsciousness and helplessness.

After a short stay in the hosptial and a period of recuperation in the boarding house of Mary Rambo, the invisible man is approached by an organization called The Brotherhood, modeled to some extent on the Communist Party. He is hired by the Brotherhood to organize the black community, and though he does not realize it at the time, he is a pawn, a dupe, to create

enough dissension and disunity among the blacks of Harlem to allow the Brotherhood to move in and become powerful. Once again he is a blind man, unable to exert any control over the circumstances of his life because he cannot see through illusions.

Ellison has allowed the invisible man to achieve some insight into what is happening to him. After a violent clash with the Brotherhood, he lifts up a manhole cover, descends into the underground, and there in hibernation he constructs a new life in a warm basement. He wires the entire ceiling with 1,369 expensive fluorescent light bulbs courtesy of the Light Company which cannot locate the source of the power drainage. All they know is that a lot of free current is disappearing into Harlem and they do not know whom to charge. So he lives there in comfort, taking advantage of his invisibility, listening to Louis Armstrong playing and singing "What Did I Do To Be So Black and Blue," having his favorite dessert of vanilla ice cream and sloe gin, trying to grasp the full meaning of his invisibility before he ventures forth to encounter the world again.

Ellison is a good writer to consult for an interpretation of the black folkloric past and its implications for mental health because he has been an insistent voice for thirty years, urging a deeper look into the uses and meaning of black folklore. In his childhood in Oklahoma, he lived in the city and felt cut off from the experiences of his friends who left school during cotton picking season and went with their parents to the cotton fields. Ellison envied them those trips to the cotton patch because they returned to tell him about the playing, the eating, the dancing and singing. And what they stressed was the communion, not the hard work. They brought back Negro jokes and Negro stories--not stories told by whites <u>about</u> Negroes. Ellison calls these ceremonies of black folk life the triumph of the

marvelous over the terrible, the terrible being all that hinders human aspiration, all the meannesses characteristic of black life. Over and over the folk spirit showed him this triumph (Ellison, 1966).

In a world of absurdities, technologically huge, industrialized and computerized to the point of impersonality, a world of corporate giants imperceptibly changing our lives, the question of mental health becomes crucial, but also very complex. It is not easy to live in a world where work is routine and dehumanizing, where institutions which are supposed to protect and support are organized to intimidate and undermine, where the leisure time activities depicted by the media are expensive and time consuming and really meant for the privileged, where industrialization creates isolation instead of community, where there are immense pressures on human beings just to be able to survive and very few ways of getting one's ego boosted or self esteem enhanced or loneliness assuaged.

How does one whose home is in the briarpatch of America take the Afro-American folk tradition and translate its meanings, as Ellison has advised, into wider, more precise meanings that can be of value in handling a swiftly changing, implacable, sometimes absurd, discontinuous experience of living black in this American culture? As George Kent has pointed out, folklore is the first drawings of a group, "projecting the group's wisdom in symbols, expressing its will to survive, embodying those values by which it lives and dies (Kent, 1970). Thus we look to those special qualities in the black tradition which, in confronting reality, offer instructions for how to define life positively, how to survive oppression, how to deal with tragedy, how to confront and understand one's self, how to extract from existence, some joy.

The Brer Rabbit tales and the American Negro slave songs are the earliest surviving examples of black folk tradition. Both express, in the very clearest terms, that black slaves were totally unwilling to allow white masters to define their reality or to interpret their experiences. Almost every slave utterance is essentially a repudiation of what the white master wished them to believe. In one narrative, a slave was questioned about whether he lived better slave or free, and he thoughtfully replied:

> What I likes best, to be slave or free? Well, it's this way. In slavery I owns nothing and never owns nothing. In freedom I's own the home and raise the family. All that cause me worriment, and in slavery I has no worriment, but I takes the freedom. ("I Take Freedom," 1945)

Look at the language of the spiritual for its sense of protest as well as the slave's own sense of reality:

from "The Gospel Train"

> The fare is cheap and all can go
> the rich and poor are there
> No second class on board the train
> No difference in the fare.

from "I'm a Rolling Through an Unfriendly Land"

> I'm a rolling. . . .through an unfriendly world. . . .
> O brothers, O sisters won't you help me to pray. . .Won't you help me to fight.

from "I've Been 'Buked and Scorned"

> I've been 'buked and I've been scorned
> Trying to make this journey all alone

The spirituals said in symbol that black slaves (1) valued freedom above all else, (2) knew instinctively that the slave system was unjust and oppressive, (3) developed a hard core resistance to a system that threatened to devalue and crush them and (4) internalized another system of values as Christians, children of God; therefore they were people of worth and dignity. The message of the Brer Rabbit tales was also couched in symbol and disguise, but it too is clear. The weakest of all the animals in the jungle, the little Rabbit, defeats the larger animals by cunning and deceit. Pitted against his adversaries, the Fox, the Wolf, the Bear, he almost always manages to kill off or outwit these powerful enemies. The slave's wishful thinking? To some extent, yes. What is significant is that in the Rabbit tales we see a set of values operating that are at odds with, in direct opposition to the values of the polite, genteel southern society. Living by mother wit, the Rabbit is able to fend for himself in or out of the briarpatch As one of the first heroes of black American folklore, Brer Rabbit becomes an index to the myths and values and behavior of black Americans. "The rabbit is a shirker of work, a master of disguise, a cunning figure who wins contests against much larger and stronger animals" (Baker, note 1). Now the Rabbit tales are not so important for themselves as for what they point to in the Afro-American tradition, particularly what they suggest about the hero in that tradition. Clearly the heroic tradition in Afro-American culture has been significantly different from the heroic tradition in America. The trickster rabbit is a subversive figure, as is Nat Turner, Jack Johnson, Leadbelly, Bessie Smith, John de Conguer, Harriet Tubman, Malcolm X, and Muhammed Ali. Not the homespun, honest Abe hero, nor the loyal, brave and courageous frontiersman like Davy Crockett or Charles Lindberg; not the industrious mighty improver of the American Dream, as we have in Henry Ford;

he is not even the patriot, the idealist, the superman who overcomes all odds and reaches success. The hero in the black tradition is often an outlaw, a fugitive, the very antithesis of the American tradition. Nat Turner, Harriet Tubman, Muhammed Ali, Malcolm X were all outlaws. In this tradition the hero is more often a wily trickster, using all sorts of cunning to achieve his/her ends, including flamboyant style, manipulation of language, and humor. Consider Jack Johnson for example. The first black heavyweight champion of the world was known for his expensive clothes, cars, jewelry, flashy women, and his utter disdain for the rules and standards of white America, yet he "set the ghetto burgeoning with fantasies" (Hayden, 1970, p. 111) of a better time and a better world for black people. But these were the very qualities that began to destroy the heroic legend of Jack Kennedy. The black hero sometimes known as "the bad nigger" was used as a model by Richard Wright for his 1940 novel, Native Son. Wright tells us that in the deep South he encountered many Bigger Thomases. One of these Biggers laughed at, cursed at, and broke the Jim Crow laws of the South. Rebellious and defiant he would violate all the taboos of that system. He would ride the Jim Crow street cars without paying and sit where he pleased. Once a white conductor tried to make this Bigger move out of the WHITES ONLY section and Bigger answered with a knife in his hand, "Make me." The conductor walked away, fists clenched, stammering and angry. But the other blacks on the car experienced an intense flash of pride while the street car moved on without incident (Wright, 1940, p. xi).

There is only one quality that a black hero must have: he/she must, in some way, stand for the protest against oppression, exhibiting defiance of the order, the rules which subvert, crush, stunt the lives of black folk--even flamboyance can be interpreted as such a symbol. Jack Johnson's

expensive clothes were in some measure defying the world which meant for blacks to stay quietly in their places. Two poets who often use Afro-American folklore as a source of their art. Robert Hayden and Etheridge Knight, have depicted two very different heroic pictures and yet in both of their folk heroes some common characteristics are present. In "Hard Rock Returns to Prison from the Hospital for the Criminal Insane," Etheridge Knight's hero, Hard Rock, is a prisoner whose exploits have become legendary--because he defies the prison order which the other prisoners are afraid to violate:

> Hard Rock was "known not to take no shit
> From nobody," and he had the scars to prove it.
> Split, purple lips, lumped ears, welts above
> His yellow eyes, and one long scar that cut
> Across his temple and plowed through a thick
> Canopy of kinky hair.
> He had been our Destroyer, the doer of things
> We dreamed of doing but could not bring ourselves to do
> (Knight, 1968, pp. 11-12).

Hard Rock is our destroyer, our dreamer, a doer of great deeds, and an American criminal.

In his poetic reinterpretation of the life and meaning of Harriet Tubman, poet Robert Hayden shows us no warm, loving, homespun American patriot but another outlaw, a woman with a price on her head. Tubman summons her runaway slaves to escape and threatens to kill anyone who would turn back and endanger the group:

> Harriet Tubman
> woman of earth, whipscarred,

a summoning, a shining
Mean to be free
And this was the way of it, brethren brethren,
way we journeyed from Can't to Can.
Moon so bright and no place to hide,
the cry up and the patterollers riding
hound dogs belling in bladed air.
And fear starts a-murbling, Never make it,
we'll never make it. Hush that now,
and she's turned upon us, levelled pistol
glinting in the moonlight:
Dead folks can't jaybird-talk, she says;
you keep on going now or die, she says.

Wanted Harriet Tubman Alias The General
alias Moses Stealer of Slaves
In league with Garrison Alcott Emerson
Garrett Douglass Thoreau John Brown (Hayden, 1970, pp. 128-130)

When Tubman says at the end of "Runagate," "mean to be free," we can look at the word mean in two ways: she is determined to be free and she is mean enough to get freedom. The black folk hero has perhaps every sign of psychological maladjustment: inner tension, hostility, unwillingness to trust others, alienation, a sense of disgust with the world. But these are the very qualities that allow the hero not only to survive but to survive on his/her terms, that is to define his/her own experiences and to reject the racist labels of inferiority and worthlessness.

The tradition of the blues is another form of response to existence which offers instruction in dealing with reality of the black life. This is

a tradition which Ellison, particularly, has "celebrated for its ritual of self-confrontation" (Kent, 1970, p. 269). Consider the blues as an art which constantly reminds us of our limitations while encouraging us to see how far we can go. The blues begin with personal disaster, they confront the reality of that disaster, and then, through either humor or sheer toughness of spirit, they transcend the painful condition, proclaiming some small margin of freedom achieved in that transcendence. The "Backwater Blues," for example, describes a very painful experience of people living in the rural lake area of Louisiana. Everything is destroyed by the flood, but when Ma Rainey sings to them the "Backwater Blues," they somehow receive strength from those blues. They do not abandon trouble or avoid it. On the contrary they face it down, sharing in solidarity with others who have experienced the same trouble, while Ma performs the ritual that makes them re-enact their pain and transcend it at the same time:

Ma Rainey

1

When Ma Rainey
Comes to town,
Folks from anyplace
Miles aroun',
From Cape Girardeau,
Poplar Bluff,
Flocks in to hear
Ma do her stuff;
Comes flivverin' in,
Or ridin' mules,
Or packed in trains,

Picknickin' fools. . . .

That's what it's like,

Fo' miles on down,

To New Orleans delta

An' Mobile town,

When Ma hits

Anywheres aroun'.

2

Dey comes to hear Ma Rainey from de little river settlements,

From blackbottom cornrows and from lumber camps;

Dey stumble in de hall, jes' a-laughin' an' a-cacklin',

Cheerin' lak roarin' water, lak wind in river swamps.

An' some jokers keeps deir laughs a-goin' in de crowded aisles.

An' some folks sits dere waitin' wid deir aches an' miseries,

Till Ma comes out before dem, a-smilin' gold-toofed smiles

An' Long Boy ripples minors on de black an' yellow keys.

3

O Ma Rainey,

Sing yo' song;

Now you's back

Whah you belong,

Git way inside us,

Keep us strong. . . .

O Ma Rainey,

Li'l an' low;

Sing us 'bout de hard luck

Roun' our do';
Sing us 'bout de lonesome road
We mus' go. . . .

4

I talked to a fellow, an' the fellow say,
"She jes' catch hold of us, somekindaway.
She sang Backwater Blues one day
It rained fo' days an' de skies was dark as night,
Trouble taken place in de lowlands at night.

Thundered an' lightened an' the storm began to roll
Thousan's of people ain't got no place to go.

Den I went an' stood upon some high ol' lonesome hill,
An' looked down on the place where I used to live'.
An' den de folks, dey natchally bowed dey heads an' cried,
Bowed dey heavy heads, shet dey moufs up tight an' cried,
An' Ma lef' de stage, an' followed some de folks outside."

Dere wasn't much more de fellow say:
She jes' gits hold of us dataway. (Brown, cited in Henderson, 1973)

In Albert Murray's novel, Train Whistle Guitar, there are two women characters, Miss Eula Bacote, also called Miss Blue Eula because she loves listening to Bessie Smith blues records, and Bea Ella Thornhill, later to be known as Miss Red Ella because she stabs her lover to death. As Murray's novel is thoroughly immersed in the black folk tradition, these characters are reflections of two reactions to folk cuture. Most Monday

mornings Miss Blue Eula wakes up with a bad case of the blues because she is doomed to be forever childless and because her husband has, by Monday, gambled away all of his wages. Everybody knows the blues are on her as soon as she begins her weekly ritual.

> The first thing she always used to do (after lighting a cigarette and making coffee) was wind up her Victrola and put on the latest record of Bessie Smith singing the blues. Then she would open all the doors and windows. And then she used to move all of the furniture out into the cleanswept part of the yard and string all of her hangers of coats, suits and frocks on the clothesline, and spread the mattress ticking and stuffing on the grass and drape all of her quilts and blankets on the fence. Then she used to get down on her knees with a scrubbing brush and a bucket of hot, sudsy lye-water and do all of the floors plus the porch and the steps.
>
> Sometimes she used to play the same Bessie Smith record over and over and sometimes all you used to hear would be Bessie Smith and Ma Rainey (Murray, 1974, pp. 101-102).

Sitting in her rocking chair listening to Bessie Smith and tending her flowers, Miss Blue Eula assuaged her pain and saw herself through another week.

In obvious contrast, Miss Red Ella, one of the town's most respectable educated women, gets involved in a love affair with the notorious Beau Beau Weaver, who, true to his original style as a pretty boy, sweet man, gets caught by Ella sleeping with another woman. He pleads with her, but she says nothing. No cursing, no crying, she stabs him in a dozen places, the

last gash extending from his right ear to the left corner of his mouth. When she returns from serving her time on the County Farm, she is completely withdrawn as though in a trance.

In contrast to the Miss Blue Eula, for whom the folk tradition is a stablilizing force, a means of communal sharing, and a source of strength, Miss Ella is cut off from this powerful tradition because all she knows is the world of books. Seeing her streaked with blood, one of the other townsfolk says, Bea Ella's biggest mistake was "Not knowing that bad luck and disappointment meant not the end of the world, but only that being human you had to suffer like everybody else from time to time"(Murray, p. 122). Had she ever listened to Bessie Smith, she would have known this instinctively. And she would have known and understood deeply that she was not alone.

Like Albert Murray's Miss Blue Eula, there are other literary characters whose lives and spirit represent a continuation of the black folk-tradition surviving even in modern, industrialized, urban America. Borrowing from the deep well of the black folk-tradition, such writers as Ernest Gaines, Alice Walker, Toni Morrison, Zora Hurston, as well as Ralph Ellison, present us with many models of the coping power, the wit, the humanity in black culture. All of these models have certain characteristics in common, qualities which in their lives meant psychological well being or health. Those qualities are (1) a repudiation of the values in the American tradition--rugged individualism, material wealth, power; (2) solidarity and communion with one's people; (3) the struggle for self-definition which almost always casts the character into conflict with society; and (4) a sense of the cyclical nature of life and an ability to enter into that cycle.

Unlike the invisible man, another character in that same novel, Peter Wheatstraw, is a living embodiment of the quality of repudiation. Pushing a cart in Harlem, he tells the invisible man, "All it takes to get along in this here man's town is a little shit, grit, and mother-wit,. . . and man I was bawn with all three"(Ellison, 1952, p. 134). This is something the invisible man has yet to learn because he is still trying to live on terms that are not his own, trying to follow the rules which were meant to subvert his life. Wheatstraw, on the other hand, is obviously a man of the streets but he has a sense of detachment from the values which are destroying the invisible man. Wheatstraw values instead his ability to find downhill streets on which to run his cart and let himself coast so that he is not worn out by the end of the day. He says "Damn if I'm-a-let 'em run me into my grave" (p. 133).

The sense of solidarity or communion with one's people is present in virtually every single folk character in either the folkloric or literary tradition of black people. It is the sine qua non of the folk experience. In Ellison's short story "Flying Home" (1967), there is a young black airplane pilot named Todd. When his plane crashes he comes face to face with a black peasant named Jefferson and a world he has tried to eliminate from his consciousness--the black rural South--his ancestral home. Todd thinks "I have tried to rid myself of the humiliation of this old man. His ignorance is a part of the shame that I have tried to overcome with training and education" (p. 161). Not until Jefferson saves Todd from being cruelly violated by a racist white Southerner does Todd recognize the power in the old man, a power born of his willingness to confront the painful reality of living Jim Crow. Like the invisible man, Todd is alienated from himself

and his people because his sense of self worth and dignity is dependent on the acceptance of the white world, in this case, the white Air Force officers. When Jefferson saves him from being taken in a straitjacket to a mental hospital, he begins to feel a sense of reconciliation with this ignorant old peasant. "It was as though he had been lifted out of his isolation, back into the world of men" (p. 170).

The sense of solidarity with others is shown in its highest form in Ellison's Brother Tarp, Alice Walker's Grandpa Davis, and Albert Murray's Luzana Cholly, for all of these characters who are advanced in age feel the necessity of establishing solidarity with the next generation. Brother Tarp gives the invisible man a link from the chain he wore for nineteen years while on a southern prison gang. For Tarp the chain symbolizes his determination to be free and his willingness to endure any suffering in order to attain freedom. He gives it to the invisible man, explaining, "it's got a heap of signifying wrapped up in it. . .I said no to a man who wanted to take something from me; that's what it cost me for saying no" (Ellison, 1952, p. 292). With this gift, the invisible man is one chain link closer to the legacy of his past, a legacy born of the men and women who said no and paid for it. In Alice Walker's short story "A Sudden Trip Home In the Spring" (1975), the main character, a young woman artist named Sarah Davis, is frightened by her inability to paint black men. She has borne a life-long grudge against her father for his rage and his despair and now sees only defeat in the faces of black men. At her father's funeral she sees her grandfather, perhaps for the first time, not as a black man defined by whites but as the patriarch of the Davis clan, a man who sets aside his own grief in order to provide strength for the rest of his family.

Sarah's brother tells her "you learn how to paint me and how to make Grandpa up in stone. Then you can come home or go live in Paris, France. It'll be the same thing" (p. 153). Sarah understands that her grandfather and her brother have made it unnecessary for her to live as a marginal person, half black and not quite white. Neither her education nor her art have to separate her from her roots. Her roots are in her soul.

Luzana Cholly, an old blues singer in Albert Murray's Train Whistle Guitar (1974), performs the same act for the young narrator, Scooter, when he catches the boy trying to hop a freight train in imitation of such men as Luzana. This old blues singer with his diamond stickpins and twelve-string guitars, his silk shirts and Stetson hats and banker-style Stacey Adams appearance, smelling like barbershop talcum and crisp new folding money and city women, who is admired by all the blacks in town and respected by the whites, stops Scooter from getting on that train, and in an act of raw courage he exposes Scooter to the real Luzana Cholly behind the mask. He tells the boy that he has been in the penitentiary and on the chain gang and that that life is not good enough for Scooter's generation:

> "Make old Luze proud of you, he said then, and he was almost pleading. Make old Luze glad to take his hat off to you some of these days. You going further than old Luze ever dreamed of. Old Luze ain't been nowhere. Old Luze don't know from nothing." (p. 30)

There is no shame in Luze as he shatters this boy's image of him as hero. Too much is at stake for him to allow Scooter to be duped, though in exposing his own pretenses, he sacrifices himself. What Luzana knows and what Scooter learns from him is that if you were born and bred in the

briarpatch, you had to learn early to be as quick as Jack the Rabbit and as cunning as Jack the Bear. If necessary, you could drink muddy water, you could sleep in a hollow log.

Folklorist and novelist Zora Neale Hurston has given us in her 1937 novel, Their Eyes Were Watching God (1937/1969), a heroic voice in the person of Janie Crawford, the novel's main character. She is a woman who has to cast off both racist and sexist models in order to find a true identity for herself. Her grandmother wants her to marry a man with property and money so she can get upon a high chair and rock and sit like the white women she has had to work all her life for. Janie's husband wants to turn her into a "doll-baby," superior to and aloof from common black folks, so she will reflect the importance of his position as the town's mayor. Janie rejects both of these models, marries a man fifteen years younger than she and goes off with him down in the Everglades where they work side by side with other migrant workers and where, as a full member of the community, Janie takes her place in the storytelling session, telling tall tales and jokes with the best of them. She goes from Mrs. Mayor to migrant bean picker in her search for a self that is complete and autonomous. To indicate the growth and discovery of that self, she says to her friend, Phoeby, "Ah been a delegate to de big 'ssociation of life. Yessuh! De Grand Lodge, de big convention of livin' is just where Ah been dis year and a half y'all ain't seen me" (p. 10).

There are some clear implications in the lives of these characters for black people, and indeed all people, in regard to how people make order and meaning in life. To some extent every individual is a minority, everyone experiences invisibility, depersonalization, double-consiousness, oppression--not just black people or so-called minorities. Black people, however,

have the advantage of the gift of second sight--they know they are oppressed; on some level they are aware of their invisibility, of their double-consciousness. There is a distinct asset in being able to say to another sister or brother, "You know white folks sure are crazy." That may represent a realistic appraisal of a particular reality. But living well means the ability to make choices, and people cannot make choices if they are continually experiencing estrangement and mistrust. As black people living in a white world we live with mistrust and alienation. It is almost impossible to experience a sense of being at home in a world which gives you back so many negative pictures of yourself--or worse, no pictures at all. There is a message in the black folkloric past. It is that people who achieve some measure of growth in their lives, who extract joy from their existence, have a sense of continuity with others, and especially with the past. They know they are not the first in line nor will they be the last. I see young black men on the corners of the streets in Detroit--angry, hostile, dangerous and destructive--and I know they have no sense of comradeship with people of distant times or even with their own clanspeople who have established orders, objects, sayings that convey a sense of human dignity and love (Erikson, 1968). Cut off, isolated from these ancient rituals, their lives are stunted even in their beginnings. I know black women who think that women's liberation began with Gloria Steinem and Ms. magazine, never suspecting that black Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman were the forerunners of the women's movement in this country. Not knowing Toni Morrison, they will never hear Morrison's Sula declare that being a woman and being colored is the same as being a man, and thus they will never feel the comfort and security of that sisterhood. Relationships between black men and women are also shaped (and misshapen) by this

dislocation of our past. We need to hear Janie Crawford say that when she chose Tea Cake, her marriage was no business proposition, "no race after property and titles" and that his material impoverishment could not affect their relationship. These connections with our past, our inheritance, are vital to our well being, especially in a land where we have never been valued except as other people's property or as menial laborers. To reverse that historic devaluation will take more than the personal act, the individual goodwill, the psychologist's technique. There must be a political act, that is, the act which makes us realize our continuity with others, because only such an act can restore the feeling of being at home in the universe, a universe whose very basic designs are intended to insure that black people will remain aliens, not citizens. This kind of political act is what made the Sixties a vitally important time for black people in America. The black folk tradition is such a political act, and these writers who have taken as a sacred trust the task of using the black folk tradition as a source of their creativity continue to re-enact this ritual. Blues singer John Anderson performed such a political act when he made this declaration of independence, this assertion of the identity black people have struggled to achieve:

"Here you done treat me like a <u>dog</u>, and I come out a human being."

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Psycho-historical Implications of the Well-being of Blacks: Struggle for Survival

Dalmas A. Taylor

DALMAS TAYLOR

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Since Aristotle, Western civilization has tended to dichotomize the universe and everything in it. Things are either right or wrong, up or down, agreeable or disagreeable--and more significantly, black or white! Even in science we are confronted with this duality. Nomothetic science searches for general laws and attempts to explain nature; idiographic science seeks an understanding of social situations or individuals in their uniqueness (Windelband, 1894). This latter distinction has been used by some to deny the possibility that psychology could become a science, at least not a nomothetic science. Introspection and understanding (idiographic science) were to be its lot. The implication of this distinction and its influence is that it promoted a dichotomy in science that threatened to give us a one-sided picture of behavior.

The perception (or recognition) of a dichotomy in the universe predates Aristotle. Approximately 500 B.C. the dialectic was posited as a way of accounting for the view that the elements of the universe were held together by an opposition of forces, and that strife was the principle underlying change. Three periods of thinking have contributed to this principle:

Buddhism, Hinduism, and Indian. In these systems, dialecticism was viewed as a necessary and continuous search for oneness in nature, the breaking down of false dichotomies, and a unity in the totality of experience. The experience of liberation was seen as an unending synthesis of polarities. While the African concept of man assumes a duality, it does not divide the universe, it too is concerned with unity.

Chinese. The Chinese posited the yin and yang principle as a dialectic. Yin represented the forces of passivity and meekness (feminine) and yang the active and bold forces of power (masculine). For the Chinese, harmony was

a balance between yin and yang and was viewed as most desirable. (In practice, however, the Chinese often subordinated the yin to the yang.) This structural view of behavior is elaborated in several eastern philosophies.

Marx/Hegel. Hegel described history as a continuous dialectic of theses, antitheses, and syntheses. Karl Marx recast Hegelian dialectics in eonomics and class struggle. For Marx, class war would lead to a homogeneous society. Freud similarly constructed balanced man (person) as a result of the ego successfully resolving the tension and conflict between the id and the superego.

Thus, dialecticism has had three general uses in history: (1) a way of reasoning, (2) a theory of behavior and the universe, and (3) a political ideology. It is the second use that will be of interest in this paper in attempting to use psychology and history as a context within which race and mental health can best be understood.

The behaviorists persevered and psychology survived as an idiographic and nomothetic science. Introspection as a methodological approach was replaced with techniques that permitted statistical inference and generalization from individuals as well as from groups. Eventually, cognitive psychology was to benefit from this "stimulus-response" revolution. Kurt-Lewin provided us with an appropriate formulation of these events:

$$B = f(H, E)$$

where B = behavior

H = heredity

E = environment

More expansively, individual and group behavior are influenced by environmental events as well as genetic factors. Methodologically this requires accounting for extraneous variables either through control or covariation.

From this arrangement we can derive conclusions based on statistical probabilities as opposed to mathematically precise stimulus-response connections.

Historians, unlike psychologists, have ignored the polemics of idiographic and nomothetic approaches to understanding. History has developed and continues to be an idiographic discipline based on an understanding of individuals and historical periods. In attempting a psycho-historical analysis of behavior, however, it became clear that psychology continues to be as deficient as history in its search for general laws in nature. Perhaps this is due to the misunderstanding of dialecticism introduced into western philosophy by Aristotle. Aristotle disputed the Socratic technique of pursuing meaning as bipolar and introduced the notion of logical deduction. Consequently, modern psychology partitions the observation of events into meaningful data and errors. Such an approach ignores the fact that an understanding of the negative side of behavior helps us appreciate the positive side. Night has no meaning if one has not experienced daylight. True dialecticism views error as an active principle in the generation of knowlege as opposed to an irrelevant state of affairs. We all should be humbled by the observation that one discipline's experimental variance is another's error variance.

Two difficulties ensue in examining psychological research in relationship to the mental health or well-being of blacks; meaningful data have been discarded or ignored as error variance, and bipolar meaning is avoided. We have studied aggression and conflict apart from altruism and helping behavior; love apart from hate; and belief prejudice or racial prejudice (Rokeach, 1960). These dichotomous pursuits have conditioned our view of the world and the interpretation of behavior. The "law of the excluded middle" prevails. As scientists we have become gatekeepers who foster

and promote unipolar conceptualizations. We are victims of intellectual and conceptual incarceration. Furthermore, we have imposed a value perspective or bias on these directional outcomes. Altruism is better than aggression (Liebert, Neale, & Davidson, 1973). Integration is better than separation (Pettigrew, 1969). The latter assertion is critical to the theme of this paper.

Consistent with the second meaning of dialecticism, noted above, I will argue that integration and separation are oppostional forces and that a healthy tension and interchange between the two promotes growth and change. The resultant growth and change are synonymous with human welfare and positive mental health. This conclusion is not achievable through psychology alone, however. A proper psychological analysis of race and mental health requires an examination of the historical antecedents of race conflict and efforts of blacks to assimilate into American culture.

Through a Time Tunnel

Throughout black Africa people were in well-defined groups. Various tribes with various languages and cultures from simple to extremely highly-developed states participated in science, the arts, and industry. At least one percent of the slaves brought to America spoke and wrote in Arabic. Records of early expeditions make it clear that blacks were in America long before any permanent settlements occurred. Blacks played a leading role in the settlement of Brazil and other Latin American countries, the West Indies, and America. Those who came as indentured servants and later became freed men participated in the colonial life of America. By the close of the colonial period, approximately 60,000 formerly indentured black servants were free. However, as the practice of indentured servitude became corrupted, blacks as indentured servants were made slaves by statutory decree.

Virginia was the first to give statutory recognition to African slavery. In 1619 a Dutch frigate sold 20 black captives to settlers in Jamestown. While the status of these captives was not clear, by the year 1640 they, along with many others, were held in perpetual bondage as de facto slaves. Soon after Virginia's ratification of slavery, the state of Maryland passed legislation reducing the status of all blacks to that of slave. By 1680 the examples of Virginia and Maryland had impacted upon the Carolina colony (prior to the division into North and South Carolina). Ultimately, the legislative atmosphere on slavery spread from South Carolina to Georgia. In this stepwise progression slavery evolved in the British colonies such that by the end of the 17th century slavery became the legal status of almost all blacks.

A natural anxiety grew out of the increasing number of blacks in relationship to whites. That this anxiety was not unfounded could be seen in the open resentment blacks showed to their condition of slavery. Some did indeed kill their masters or unsuccessfully plotted to do so. Others ran away. Added to these tensions was the abolitionist sentiment largely inspired by the Quakers, and the themes of freedom and liberty that grew out of the American Revolution.

The libertarian ideals of 1776, however, were instrumental only in containing slavery to the South.

> ...in proportion to the whole number of white and other free Citizens and inhabitants of every age, sex, and condition, including those bound to servitude for a term of years, and three-fifths of all other persons not comprehended in the foregoing description, except Indians, not paying taxes in each

state...Let the compromising expedient of the Constitution be mutually adopted, which regards them as inhabitants, but as debased by servitude below the equal level of free inhabitants, which regards the slave as divested to two-fifths of the man (Madison, The Federalist, No. 54).

The newly-formed bicameral legislature concluded that slaves would be counted three-fifths of a free white man, thereby institutionalizing white supremacy and extending slavery to the year 1808:

> The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person (Article I, Section 9).

Regional pride and patriotism dictated a belief in black inferiority which found documentation in distorted interpretations of the Bible. For southerners, slavery offered the advantage of creating an egalitarian society among free whites. The status of all whites, including those outside the powerful, wealthy ruling class, was automatically elevated by the presence of a lower race. And after all, what better way was there to bring Christianity to the African "heathens" than through slavery.

Historian Kenneth Stampp (1956) in his book, The Peculiar Instituion, described slave resistance quite eloquently: "...men can be enslaved under certain conditions,...(but) their love of freedom is hard to crush. The subtle expressions of the spirit, no less than the daring thrust for liberty, comprise one of the richest gifts the slaves left to posterity."

The institution of slavery did more than just oppress black people. It, indeed, operated systematically to destroy any cultural roots or attachments by breaking up any sociological grouping including the family. Male slaves

were prohibited from serving as providers. Marriages between slaves were not recognized as legal, nor were the offsprings of such unions. In an effort to break family linkages, a common practice was to separate husband and wife slaves by selling them each to different plantations or selling one and keeping the other.

Further efforts at humiliating the male were achieved by having him witness the rape or seduction of his wives and daughters. These acts of brutality resulted in severe characterlogical disorders and tended to disrupt the black family as a unit.

Many slave-trading states enacted codes which in general restricted and further oppressed the rights and status of the slave. A common thread in all of these laws was a prohibition against the purchase or selling of property, a restriction on the right to assemble or visit in the homes of free blacks and, most importantly, the lack of recognition in a court of law.

W.C. Pennington, minister of a New York church and runaway slave from the State of Maryland, offered the following characterization of slavery:

> The mildest form of slavery, if there be such a form, looking at the chattel principle as the definition of slavery, is comparatively the worst form; for it not only keeps the slave in the most unpleasant apprehension, like a prisoner in chains awaiting his trial: but it actually, in a great majority of cases, where kind masters do exist, trains him under the most favorable circumstances the system admits of, and then plunges him into the worst of which it is capable (Bontemps, 1969, p. 197).

A peculiar irony has existed in America from the first day human slavery was ratified by legislative act. It is difficult, if not impossible, to carve out institutions of freedom and liberty and deny them to

some men. In trying to do so, one might as well try to sustain human life not by breathing oxygen but by breathing carbon dioxide. The contradiction required cosmetic repair. Slaves were legislatively decreed less than one whole person, denied the right to own, purchase, or convey real property, and had no rights that had to be represented in a court of law. These pronouncements not only make mockery of the Revolutionary philosophy so well written by Thomas Jefferson, they reduce to the absurd court trials for slaves who engaged in insurrection.

Inconsistencies between slavery and the founding principles obviously bothered some whites in the South. There is evidence that whites gave assistance to blacks who revolted. The large majority, however, benefited socially and economically from slavery and therefore did nothing to work toward abolition. Most actively supported it and rationalized its "virtues" by denigrating the biological and social status of blacks. This approach continues to this day. Whites seemingly have inherited a social norm that makes it difficult, if not impossible, to accept blacks as social equals.

As a nation, we have experienced a Civil War, Reconstruction, social upheaval and numerous legislative approaches to undo and correct the social ills of the past. Yet our social fabric remains tarnished today as it was in the Constitutional Convention. In The War That Never Ended, Robert Cruden ties these events to current race problems:

> Thus the past joins with the present: the unresolved issue of the Civil War casts its shadow a century later. White America's failure to honor its commitment to equality in the past (except during Reconstruction) bequests to the present generation of whites the psychic conflict involved in adherence to the nation's

principles and the practice of racism. For blacks this has meant a dilemma of their own. For long now they have sought equality--but always with the consciousness that their struggle was circumscribed by the limits set by white society. Struggle as they might, blacks realized bitterly that they were not masters of their own fate. The consequence of past decisions has been an abrasive coexistence of the races, in which the black community ever feels at a disadvantage (1973, p. 192).

Racism and Mental Health

White America has practiced extreme ethnocentrism in its insistence that all immigrant groups adopt her language, religion, and customs. The practice assumes that individuals from different cultural/national groups cannot live side by side in the same society. If per chance this is the case, then it is appropriate national policy that one (the dominant) should suppress the culture of the other in the interest of national-cultural uniformity (Janowsky, 1945). Yet for many groups, especially blacks, whites have steadfastly resisted their meaningful participation in American life. This simultaneity of invitation and denial has been responsible for a good deal of frustration and alienation in black communities. We can easily examine these effects by contrasting the well-being of blacks in relationship to that of whites.

Life expectancy at birth is 72.7 years for whites as compared to 67.0 years for nonwhite groups. Decreased life expectancy among blacks is due principally to poor nutrition and prenatal care, and high rates of homicide and suicide (especially among black males). Blacks are more than eight times as likely to become institutionalized for substance abuse, and consistently show the highest rates of mental disorder. Institutionalized blacks are

twice as likely to suffer fatal consequences from psychoses and neuroses. Finally, blacks have a higher death rate than whites for the following selected causes: tuberculosis, hypertension, syphilis, diabetes, cirrhosis of the liver, and digestive and respiratory cancer.

By extending these comparisons to the environments in which most blacks live, it is possible to pinpoint certain pernicious effects in attempting to understand the race-mental health link. Not only does ghetto life contribute to high levels of psychological stress, but in comparison to white communities, ghettos are characterized by a greater degree of pollutants, rat and roach infestation, density and overcrowding, and excessive noise. These environmental characteristics have had a negative impact on the mental health and well-being of blacks and diminish their ability to cope with adversity. It seems clear from these analyses that a rearrangement and amelioration of the social milieu of most blacks could positively affect their well-being. However, it is equally clear that the domination and control by whites of institutions responsible for the above maladies must be altered.

Carmichael and Hamilton (1967) captured the sense of these relationships in their thesis on black power:

> When white terrorists bomb a black church and kill five black children, that is an act of individual racism, widely deplored by most segments of the society. But when in that same city--Birmingham, Alabama--five hundred black babies die each year because of the lack of proper food, shelter and medical facilities, and thousands more are destroyed and maimed physically, emotionally and intellectually because of conditions of poverty and discrimination in the black community, that is a function of institutional

racism. When a black family moves into a home in a white neighborhood and is stoned, burned or routed out, they are victims of an overt act of individual racism which many people will condemn--at least in words. But it is institutional racism that keeps black people locked in dilapidated slum tenements, subject to the daily prey of exploitative slumlords, merchants, loan sharks and discriminatory real estate agents. The society either pretends it does not know this latter situation, or is in fact incapable of doing anything about it (p. 4).

In May, 1969, a group of black psychiatrists, headed by Dr. Chester Pierce and Dr. James Comer, held a very decisive meeting, proposing among other things that (1) the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) develop a distinct organizational unit to promote the development of mental health programs for minority groups; and (2) that there be developed an NIMH Affirmative Action Plan. The Black Psychiatrists of America forcibly criticized the National Institute of Mental Health and other federal agencies for their failure to work effectively at the elimination of racism within their programs and within the larger society.

A presidential commission had documented the pernicious effects of racism in American society (Kerner, 1968), and the mental health implications of racism appropriately became a critical concern of the National Institute of Mental Health. Dr. Bertrand Brown, former NIMH Director, stated publicly that among their highest priorities is a concern for minority group mental health. Additionally, a 1968 Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children reiterated the mental health implications of racism:

> Racism is the number one public health problem facing America today. The conscious and unconscious attitudes of superiority which permit and demand that a majority oppress a minority are a clear and present danger to the mental health of all children and their parents. (Committee on Minority Group Children of the Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children, 1968).

Concurrently, social sicentists were developing the concept of institutional racism which redirected attention from motivation and intentions and focused primarily on behavioral outcomes. Practices which restrict or prohibit the chances of ethnic minorities from participating in a meaningful way in societal institutions have become the chief target of concern. It is possible then to conclude from these developments that all institutions in the United States are racist, including those in mental health. The implications of that charge is that insitutional changes (as opposed to personality or attitude changes) are needed to route out and eliminate racism.

Kenneth Clark (1953) has suggested that social scientists are preoccupied with antecedents of social action and social change rather than action and change themselves because these antecedents provide perspective that makes for a comfortable margin of safety free from the dangers inherent in controversial problems. In proposing a theory of social change, Clark argues:

> The data reveal that desired changes in the behavior of individuals and groups can be brought about by a change in the social situation in which they are required to function. Changes in the social situation are effected and reinforced by individuals with authority,

prestige, power and the control over the media of communication and important areas of life. Situationally determined changes in behavior may or may not be accompanied by compatible changes in attitudes or motivation of the individuals involved. Whether or not behavioral changes are accompanied by attitudinal changes does not seem to be related to the observed stability of the behavioral changes. Some of the examined evidence suggest that compatible changes in attitudes and motivation may occur as a consequence of the changed situation and the changed behavior (p. 72).

I am in basic agreement with this sentiment, particularly with the emphasis on the characteristics of the agents of change. I would simply extend this formulation by suggesting that critical to the success of such a model of change is that blacks (or other minorities) be represented among the ranks of those with "authority," "prestige," "power," and "control." In order for this to happen, we obviously cannot believe that these qualities are genetically determined.

State of Society--Polarization/Integration

The damning indictment of American society as racist, by the Kerner Commission, stops short of demonstrating the psychology of racism and its consequence--race conflict and violence. Fanon (1966), Comer (1969, 1972) and others have written extensively on how social institutions promote racial practices that not only insure domination and control by one group but sirultaneously abate the anxieties and discomforts inherent in racist practices. As a modal practice then, institutions stage and sustain the drama of conflict between blacks and whites.

American institutions have proliferated as virtually all-white enterprises. The absence of blacks in our institutional history has made it easier for racist practices to become entrenched. No doubt this entrenchment contributes in large measure to the lack of success of integration. Fortunately or unfortunately, integration like slavery is an institution devised and defined by whites for blacks--without black input. It was quite obvious that the system of slavery encouraged, as one of its goals, the destruction of the black community. Slave insurrections dramatized the extreme negative reaction to this cruel institution. Now the paucity of evidence to support a genuine desire on the part of whites for a meaningful coexistence (i.e., integration) with blacks and black frustrations with the hypocrisy in American institutions create similar adverse reactions. The Emancipation Proclamation (another white institution) freed the slaves only to expose them to a legal system of segregation and rampant lynchings. Today, many blacks are suspicious of similar outcomes associated with efforts at integration.

Thus far, I have argued that data from psychology and other behavioral sciences in support of the efficacy of integration as a remedy for racial conflict and discord are minimal at best. Additionally, I have suggested that this failure is due perhaps to an oversimplification of the problem. Namely, little research if any has distinguished between prejudice and racism. It has been assumed, naively, that a change in attitude would produce behavioral changes. Additionally, there has been a failure to pursue meaning as a bipolar construct. Finally, the research tends to ignore the dynamics of power which characterize any relationship between oppressed and oppressors. Research on Allport's (1954) equal status contact hypothesis epitomizes this shortcoming in the research literature.

Equal Status Contact Hypothesis

Allport's (1954) equal status contact hypothesis derives its conceptual support from the definition of prejudice as a negative attitude. In essence, it presumes that equal status contact between the prejudiced and the objects of the prejudice will reduce the erroneous perceptions thought to be responsible for the prejudice. It is further assumed that this shift will lead to a positive change in attitude, and hopefully a change in behavior. In order for the contact to be successful, however, there must be strong institutional support and sharing of a common goal through cooperative interdependence.

Sherif's studies (1936, 1966) are among the clearest indications that both common goals and cooperative interdependence are necessary for contact to work in the reduction of hostility. After creating conflict and negative attitudes between two groups of boys in a camp, Sherif attempted to reduce the conflict in a number of ways. The only method that succeeded was to bring the groups together (contact) in order to obtain something they both wanted (common goal) and which they could obtain only by working together (cooperative interdependence).

The general literature on similarity, status, contact and cooperative interdependence strongly suggests that there is a rational basis for Allport's hypothesis; i.e., there is ample evidence to suggest that it should work. Yet, in terms of social policy and institutional practices there has been little evidence to suggest that a social climate in which favorable attitude change could occur has ever existed in our society. Concerted efforts in the areas of employment, education and housing have failed to yield outcomes consistent with Allport's prediction.

The classic study by Deutsch and Collins (1951) examined similar housing projects in which the buildings were either integrated or segregated. In the integrated buildings, as opposed to the segregated, the authors found more contact and more positive attitudes towards blacks. This study provides fairly strong support for Allport's hypothesis. Stouffer, et al. (1949) found that increased contact among soldiers led to decreased stereotyping, indicating once again the successful outcome of contact.

Other studies have not found such positive effects. A study by Campbell (1958) indicated that school desegregation which led to increased contact did indeed have a large effect on attitudes, but the effect operated in both directions, with attitudes not only becoming more positive in some individuals, but becoming more negative in others. Some studies have shown that integration may produce more positive attitudes, but that the change is limited only to the situation in which contact takes place, and does not represent a more generalized improvement in attitudes. Webster (1961) found that white's attitudes toward blacks became more negative after integration than they had previously been. Negative effects as a result of housing integration have also been found (Kramer, 1950; Hunt, 1959).

Research results and societal changes appear to be far less positive than would be expected on the basis of the analysis of Allport's hypothesis. Although some positive attitude change has probably taken place, racial tension and conflict are still widespread. In addition, there is evidence that attitudes in some instances have become more negative; e.g., the emotional nature of the busing issue.

Several reasons may be suggested for the failure to achieve as great an improvement in attitudes as expected. In the first place, implementation of the laws that have promoted increased contact have not fulfilled

all the conditions of the hypothesis. School desegration often involves bringing lower-class blacks into middle-class white schools. Additionally, it is not always clear whether or not common goals are involved in many of the situations involving integration. More profoundly, however, many of these situations fail to come to grips with the fact that prejudice is deeply rooted in the character structure of most whites. In this respect, the theoretical analysis of atitudes in terms of their functions has implications for the contact hypothesis.

The functional analysis of attitudes as set forth by Smith, Bruner and White (1956) posits that there are three primary functions that an attitude can serve. (1) Object appraisal: permits the individual to evaluate objects and people in order to obtain a stable picture of the world. (2) Social adjustment: attitudes serve to guide behavior in a way that helps the individual to fit in with his social group. Attitudes serving the first two functions would appear to be amenable to change under conditions of the equal status hypothesis. If the attitude created an incorrect perception of the world in its object appraisal function, contact should reveal this error and produce attitude change. In addition, changes in the requirements of the social situation could be affected by increased contact leading to changes in attitudes serving the social adjustment function. (3) Externalization: attitudes serve to solve personal and psychological problems of the individual. For example, an attitude may be formed which projects one's own unacceptable behavior onto the object of prejudice. Integration would not be likely to change attitudes serving the externalization function, since the contact would not alleviate the individual problems underlying the attitude. It is unclear how widespread this function is in prejudiced attitudes, but to the extent that it exists it

decreases the likelihood of contact leading to positive attitude change.

Racially Separate or Together?

Pettigrew (1967, 1969) has argued that only through contact (integration) can the belief in inferiority and value dissimilarity be eliminated. He further suggests that any separation between the races simply increases forces which support prejudice--including institutional forces. The issues which Pettigrew brings to bear on this argument are delineated in a four-cell model whose dimensions are "contact-separation" and "autonomy" (see Figure 1). The four cells in this model are: Cell "A": true integration which includes institutionalized biracial situations with individual and group (biracial) autonomy; Cell "B": black power ghetto (hypothetical) independent of society; Cell "C": desegregated situations with little cross-racial acceptance; and Cell "D": today's urban ghetto with little or no personal or group autonomy. Pettigrew suggests that "black separatists" see only one route to integration: from the depressed ghetto to the hypothetical ghetto and then perhaps true integration (lines 1 and 2 in Figure 1), whereas desegregationists assume the opposite route: mere desegregation, then true integration (lines 3 and 4 in Figure 1). Pettigrew argues that the only approach to "true integration" is from Cell D directly to Cell A (line 5).

Since I take exception to this model and its hypothesized outcomes, I will discuss my objections in the context of observations already made and an alternative model (see Figure 2). The proposed model takes as its starting point the assertion that the "hypothetical black power ghetto" inadequately depicts the phenomenon which it was devised to explain. Additionally, integration as a strategy and integration as a goal in the

means-end sense, have always lacked conceptual distinction and clarity. Pettigrew's model suffers this same deficiency.

The proposed model in Figure 2 provides an analysis that hopefully clarifies this confusion; additionally, its logic evolves from concepts of racism as discussed by Carmichael and Hamilton (1967). As indicated above, in the study by Sherif (1936, 1966), the validity of the equal status contact hypothesis is contingent upon conditions of cooperative interdependence to achieve common goals. However, a precondition to equal status which neither Allport nor Pettigrew acknowledge is power. Accordingly, the model proposed here permits an examination of the relationship between power and the ultimate goal in race relations. In Cell "A" racial justice refers to intergroup harmony predicated on concepts of equity and fair play and could involve integration and/or separation; Cell "B" represents the category of strategies instrumental to achieving racial justice. The advantage here is that this conceptualization does not preclude multiple strategies, nor does it prejudge the character of any strategy. It also acknowledges that some strategy is necessary to move from today's situation (Cell D) to the desired goal (Cell A), a feature that is missing in Pettigrew's model. Cell "C" represents the all too familiar practice of desegregation in which racial barriers are relaxed or substituted by token integration--rarely if ever involving the transmittal of power. Cell "D" typifies today's society in which most blacks are economically deprived and poorly educated--and powerless to alter these conditions.

Assuming agreement upon the final goal (Cell A), the proposed model in Figure 2 allows multiple strategies, but only one route to that end. Giving blacks equal education, equal employment, equal income, equal housing, and so on, will never lead to perceived equality in the eyes of

whites, without the addition of power. Carmichael and Hamilton (1967) provide a rather detailed analysis of race relations in Tuskegee, Alabama, where blacks have achieved equal socio-economic status with whites but still suffer the ill effects of prejudice and discrimination.

> The TCA (Tuskegee Civic Association) held a peculiar position in the black community. Not many people openly supported it (and many wished it would just quiet down), but they recognized that something was wrong with the one-way deferential relationship existing between the races in the community. They knew that it was incongruous for them to have economic and eduational achievements and to remain at the political mercy of a white minority. It was, to say the least, embarrassing, and for this reason many black people never talked about it. They withdrew and let TCA fight their own political battles (p. 132).

When the political advantage of the whites became threatened by increases in black votes, whites persuaded the state legislature to pass a law gerrymandering the city of Tuskegee. The result was that only ten black voters were left in the city; no whites were touched by the gerrymandering.

> The blacks had achieved education and economic security--both of which still projected throughout the nation as cure-alls--but the whites continued to lay and collect taxes, rule over the school system, determine law enforcement practices. The reason is obvious enough: blacks did not have <u>political</u> power. Economic security or the promise of it may...be vital to the building of a strong political force. But in a vacuum it is of no use to black people working for meaningful change (p. 134).

In light of these events, it seems naive to argue that integration, per se, is the solution to the nation's ills. Liberals have always supported an integrated society as a solution to racial problems. The unchallengeable, overriding goal has been integration. The end was critically considered; means were not, yet integration has become the means. In fact, the commitment to that particular strategy is so ingrained, that it freezes or restricts severely the ability to explore constructive alternatives when considering solutions to racial problems. Blacks have pursued integration strategies by seeking coalitions with the white power structure, rich and upper-class whites, philanthropists, entrepreneurs, middle-class white progressives (liberals), poor whites, and finally radical whites. In all cases, these efforts have met with failure, primarily because (1) internal power relations between blacks and whites were never resolved, (2) hidden conflicts between the interest of poor blacks and middle-class whites were never resolved, and finally (3) the latent racism of whites has never been adequately confronted.

The 1960s witnessed a crystalization of these issues accompanied by a metamorphosis on the part of most blacks, including members of the black middle class who had separated and divided themselves from their community and any responsibility to it, yet never gained acceptance by the white community. This marginal class (see E. Franklin Frazier's Black Bourgeoisie) is the best evidence of the failure of integration to produce healthy, autonomous, esteemed individuals.

In conclusion, I would contend that neither the Pettigrew nor Taylor model is right--or wrong. They are both heuristic devices that permit an understanding and exploration of race conflict in our culture. To

divide them is to fall prey to the western view of the dialectic. Separation and integration represent oppositional processes in our culture. The former is responsive to the melting pot ideal advanced in the Revolutionary philosophy of the founding fathers; the latter defines an empowerment strategy that has evolved out of the black experience and efforts at survival. Only through a proper understanding of the two processes can we advance understanding and achieve new levels of health.

Just as privacy can be viewed as the establishment of boundary conditions that define one's relationship in a wider community, separation can be viewed as a process by which a subunit establishes its autonomy and identity. As we have seen through history, blacks have suffered in esteem and well-being. Under these circumstances, equal-status contact is impossible, except for a few individuals who have escaped the deleterious effects of oppression and racism. A nonwestern view of these oppositional forces would lead us to conclude that integration and separation are in dynamic tension and that an interchange between the two leads to unending growth and positive change.

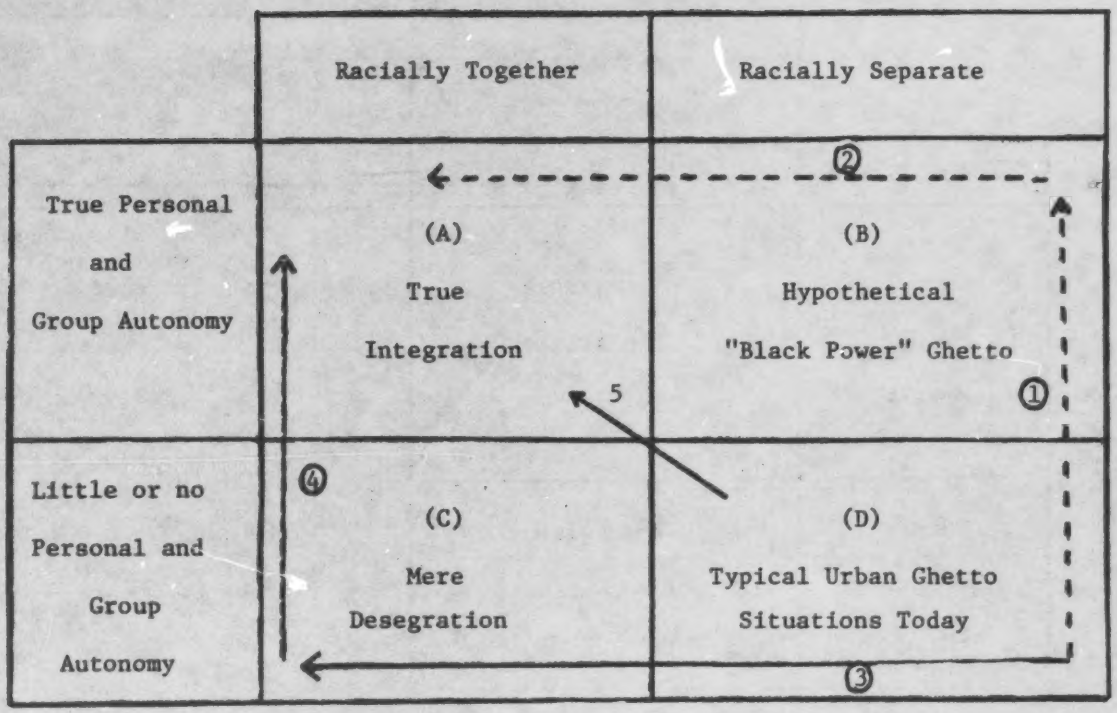

Figure 1. Schematic Diagram of Autonomy and Contact-Separation.* (From T.F. Pettigrew, Racially separate or together? Journal of Social Issues, 1969, 25, 43-69.)

*Dotted lines denote hypothetical paths, solid lines actual paths.

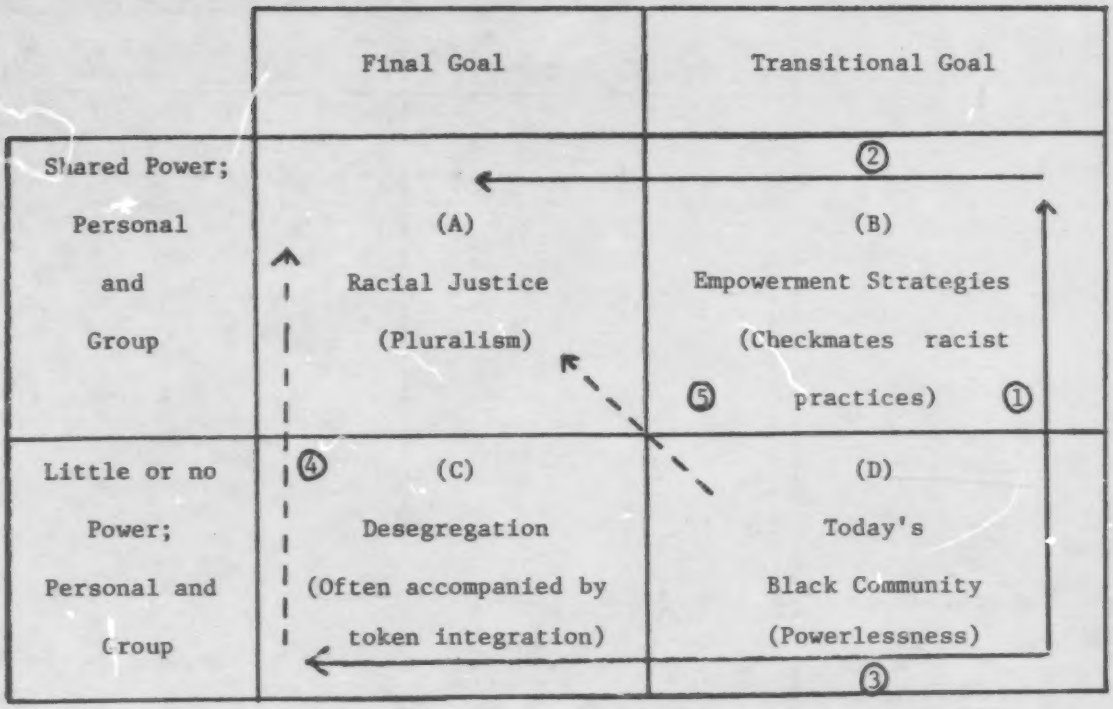

Figure 2. Schematic Diagram of Power and Goals.*

*Dotted lines denote paths with low probability of successful outcomes, solid lines denote paths with high probability of successful outcomes.

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Beyond Manzanar:

A Personal View of Asian-American Womanhood

Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston

JEANNE WAKATSUKI HOUSTON

Jeanne Wakatskui Houston was raised in California and obtained her B.A. in sociology from the State University of California at San Jose. She studied at the graduate level at San Francisco State and at the Sorbonne in France. With her husband, James, Ms. Houston published Farewell to Manzanar, a recounting of her childhood in a World War II internment camp for Japanese Americans; the book later became a screenplay authored by the Houstons. Besides writing, she has a strong interest in alternative healing modalities.

Farewell to Manzanar is a personal story of my family's experiences during and after the Second World War. To fill out the story, my husband and I did a fair amount of research on the internment of Japanese Americans in the United States and on various aspects of the Asian-American experience. But I do not consider myself a scholar, nor do I feel I can speak for Asian Americans as a group. What I will be sharing with you today will be more personal observations of my awareness of being an Asian-American female in this society.

I will begin with memories of my mother, as she was the first, strongest and most important role model influencing my identity as a female. Then I would like to share with you some thoughts and feelings from my own experience, which have surfaced since the writing of Farewell to Manzanar.

I

My mother married for love. This was rare among Japanese immigrants living in America during that time--1915. Most were men who had to send for wives from their provinces in Japan via the Baishakunin or matchmaker, who exchanged photographs for the prospective couple and made the arrangements. This is not to say that love did not develop or occur among these couples. What is significant about this "Picture Bride" phenomenon is that the reasons for marriage were not love and affection, as is the case for the dominant culture in America. Marriages were arranged to perpetuate the family.

My mother was 18 and living in Spokane, Washington, when she met and fell in love with my father, a student ten years older than herself. She had been promised to someone else, a steady, hard-working farmer and friend of her family. In absolute defiance of her tradition and training, to be dutifully

obedient to the authority of parents, she ran away with my father. Thus, their marriage became the first step towards assimiliation into American culture; romantic love had intertwined itself among the responsibilities which defined their roles as husband/father, wife/mother. Perhaps it was this love, unexhibited but pervasive, which softened the sharp facts of the inequities in their relationship, in her acquiescence to his needs and demands. In my more immature years I could not understand how she could tolerate his volatile temperament, his arrogance and obsession with dignity, and his "kingly" presence in the home. I was in my teens then, not fully assimilated, but trying desperately to be as American as Doris Day. My parents did not behave like the parents of my Caucasian friends, and this was embarrassing for me.

Mama worked very hard. She would garden, cook, care for us when we were ill, and after the war she even went to work in the fish cannery to supplement the family income, which was minimal at the time. I felt sorry for her. I remember one day when I was six years old watching her scrub clothes, my arms barely reaching over the bathtub's edge, and she on her knees, rubbing soapy shirts against a tin washboard. I watched her silent and sweat-streaked face, her hair greying wispily around her temples. I filled with terror as I envisioned her dying because she worked too hard. I started to cry.

She only laughed when I told her my fears and said, "I like to wash clothes. It gives me time to think of other things in my head." She tapped her forehead. "Besides, I'm not a washerwoman. This is just a chore. I'm your mother."

I did not understand the weight of her explanation to me then. Being mother was not only enough for her, it was a prized identity. It meant she had a family, and in her world--her peers and community almost exclusively of Japanese descent--the family was supreme in its hierarchy of values. Thus, the chores and duties which she inherited as Japanese wife and mother were not her identity as such; they were just a means to accomplish the end, which was to keep her family intact, happy and well. She never confused her tasks with who she was.

This concept of the inner self, which I have begun only recently to understand as a result of my attempts to rediscover my Japanese "roots", allowed her to form her own image, distinct from the one in the exterior world. This ability to create a psychological privacy, inherited from a people who for centuries have had to create their own internal "space" in an overpopulated island, gave her the freedom, of which she was so deprived in her role as Japanese wife and mother. This was her way to survive...and to succeed. She did both with grace and love. I think of the many people I know today (myself included) who have become so obsessed with freedom and independence. We resent our family, our jobs, our relationships...any responsibilities that seem to inhibit our mobility. I have so many more choices than my mother had, so much more external independence; yet, it was not until recently that I realized mobility and time do not mean freedom. The freedom is <u>within</u> me. I must <u>feel</u> free to be free.

I believe my mother was a fulfilled person. She had ten children who loved her devotedly. Even after ten years since her passing, I can truthfully say not a day passes that I do not think of her, not with grief, but with love and gratitude. What Japanese mother could be a failure when even after death her children do not abandon her? This

brings to mind a comment made to me by a Japanese-American friend commenting on American values and the family. "We abandon each other when we need each other the most," he said. "We abandon the young and the old. We send our young to nursery schools as early as we can get them in...just when they need our love and presence more than any time in their lives. We send our old and sickly to institutions to die alone. Where is our love responsibility? Where is that feeling of responsibility for each other that the family instills? Where is the family?"

There was a time when I would not declare my love for her. Not until I was in college did I realize my Caucasian peers seemed to have a different attitude toward their mothers than I did. Or, at least, they talked about them differently. During my freshman year I took the required general psychology course and was exposed for the first time to Freud and Jung, as were most of my classmates. I was stunned to hear them discuss their mothers so impersonally and often with great hostility. It seemed everyone had something negative to say about their "domineering, materialistic, guilt-evoking, aggressive" mothers. I did not understand then that these utterings were merely a way of asserting independence, of striking out at the one authoritiy in their lives that emotionally held them to the "nest." What was clear to me was that mother and motherhood were not "sacred" to them in the same way it was to me. They celebrated Mother's Day, which we never did, yet I heard such resentment surrounding that day, I used to wonder why it was celebrated.

Years later I was keenly reminded again of that period in my life. I was working as the Student Activities Coordinator at one of the colleges at the University of California in Santa Cruz. Among my duties was the

responsibility for room assignments and changes. One day, a Chicano student came into my office requesting a room change. He was clearly agitated. I offered to act as mediator counselor if there was a misunderstanding with his roommate. Reluctantly, he said, "I don't know about these Anglos. My roommate talks so badly about his mother. He calls her a bitch. This hurts me very much. I love my mother. I know she is sacrificing for me, crawling on her hands and knees in the strawberry fields of Delano so I can come to the University. I'm afraid I will hurt him if I have to keep rooming with him." I had felt my throat tighten and my eyes fill with tears, empathizing with him. I was touched by his love and loyalty, his willingness to overtly challenge an attitude so acceptable within the dominant culture and so unacceptable within his own.

The word "sacrifice," spoken by my Caucasian friends in reference to their mothers always carried connotations of guilt and manipulative martyrdom. It did not carry that taint for me or for the Mexican student. In fact, I have found that most of my friends from other ethnic minority backgrounds will readily say, if it is so, that they knew their mothers sacrificed their own comforts, or worked so that they could go to school or have a graduation suit...no guilt implied, just a recognition and acceptance of it with gratitude.

I think that Japanese women of my mother's generation who were mothers were fortunate because their role was highly valued by their society...their society being the community of other Japanese immigrants. The family and community prized her role, and when she fulfilled that role, she prized herself. She not only knew her worth, she felt her significance. There was no celebration of "Mother's Day," but there

was no question that Oka-san was respected and loved by her culture.

Her role as wife to my father is not as clear cut in my memory. Whereas her world in the home, in the immediate Japanese community, did not differ much from the society in which she and her mother were raised, my father's world was very different. He had to earn a living for his family in an environment both alien and hostile to him. My mother, already inherently prepared to subordinate herself in their relationship, knew this and zealously sought for ways to elevate his position in the family. He had to absorb the humiliations "out there"; she would absorb them at home. After all, was he not doing this for his family, protecting her, acting as the buffer between herself and that alien hakujin world?

She served him...with grace and naturalness. I conjure up the image of her calm, smooth face, her alert brown eyes scanning his stockings for holes as she carefully laid them and his underwear out at the foot of their bed. She did this faithfully every morning I can remember when he was at home. He was always served first at meals. She cooked special things for him and sat next to him at the table, vigilantly aware of his needs, handing him the condiments and pouring his tea before he could ask. She drew his bath and massaged him and laid his clothes out when he dressed up. As I was growing up I accepted these rituals to be the natural expressions of a wife's love for her husband. There was no question in my mind that my mother loved my father, that is why she served him. This attitude, that to serve meant to love, became an integral part of my psychological make-up and a source of confusion when I later began to relate to men.

There was also no question in my mind that my father was absolute authority in their relationship and in his relationship to his children. During and after the Second World War, when his dreams and economic situation had hit

bottom, and he was too old to start over again as he had already done several times, he raged at his wife and family and drank. His frustration toward the society that rejected and humiliated him caused him to turn on his own and on himself. I never understood how she so patiently endured him during those times. But she never abandoned him, understanding as I did not, the reasons for his anguish, for his sense of failure.

Even though respect for him diminished then, I always felt that he was very powerful and that he dominated her with this power. As they grew older and inevitable thoughts of their passing entered my mind, I worried that she would be lost if he died before her. When that sad day arrived I learned what is meant by the Asian philosophical truism "softness is strength." I had taken my gravely ill father, along with my mother, to see his doctor. The doctor informed me privately that we should take him to the hospital where he would be comfortable, as he could not live more than ten days.

It was raining. I numbly drove the car towards the hospital, straining to see through the blurred windshield and my own tears. My mother was not crying. "Riku," he said, weakly. He never called her Riku...always "Mama." "Don't leave me. Stay with me at the hospital. They won't know how to cook for me...or how to care for me." She patted his hand. "You've been a good wife. You've always been the strong one."

Not wanting him to tire, I tried to quiet him, He sat up bolt-like and roared like a lion. "Shut up!" I quaked at his forcefulness, but felt some comfort in knowing he could still "save face" and be the final authority to his children, even at death's door. My mother's quiet strength filled the car as she gently

stroked his forehead. Without tears or panic she assured him she would stay with him until the end.

He died that afternoon a few hours after he entered the hospital. For the ten years afterward that my mother lived, she never once appeared lost or rudderless, as I feared she would be with him gone. Had he not been the center of her life? Had not the forms in their relationship, the rituals of their roles all affirmed his power over her? No. She had been the strong one. The structure had been created for him; but it was her essence that had sustained it.

II

The memories surrounding my awareness of being female seem to fall into two categories: those of the period before the war, when the family made up my world, and those after the war when I entered puberty, and my world expanded to include the ways and values of my Caucasian peers. I did not think about my Asian-ness and how it influenced my self-image as a female, until I married.

In remembering myself as a small child, I find it hard to separate myself from the entity of the family. I was too young to be given "duties" according to my sex, and I was unaware that this was the organizational basis for the operating of the family. I took it for granted that everyone just did what had to be done to keep things running smoothly. My five older sisters helped my mother with domestic duties, and my four older brothers helped my father in the fishing business. What I vaguely recall about the sensibility surrounding our sex differences was that my sisters and I all like to please our brothers. More so, we tried to attract positive attention from Papa. A smile or affectionate pat from him was like a gift from heaven.

Somehow, we never felt this way about Mama. We took her love for granted. But there was something special about Papa.

I never identified this specialness as being one of the blessings of maleness. After all, I played with my brother Kiyo, two years older than myself, and I never felt there was anything special about him. I could even make him cry. My older brothers were fun-loving, boisterous and very kind to me, especially when I made them laugh with my imitations of Carmen Miranda dancing and Bonnie Baker singing "Oh, Johnny." But, Papa was different. His specialness was that he was the authority, not that he was a male.

After the war, my world drastically changed. The family had disintegrated, my father no longer "Godlike" despite my mother's attempt to sustain that pre-war image of him. I was spending most of my time with my new Caucasian friends and learning new values that clashed with the values of my parents. It was also time that I assume duties in the home that the girls were supposed to do...like cooking, cleaning the house, washing and ironing clothes. I remember washing and ironing my brothers' shirts, careful to press the collars correctly, trying not to displease them. I cannot ever remember my brothers performing domestic chores while I lived at home. Yet, even though they may not have been working "out there," as the men were supposed to do, I did not resent it. It would have embarrassed me to see my brothers doing the dishes. Their reciprocity came in a different way.

They were very protective of me and made me feel good and important for being a female. If my brother Ray had extra money, he would sometimes buy me a sexy sweater like my Caucasian friends

wore that Mama would not buy for me. My brothers taught me to ride a bicycle, to drive a car, took me to my first dance, and proudly introduced me to their friends.

Although the family had changed, my identity as a female within it did not differ much from my older sisters who grew up before the war. The males and females supported each other but for different reasons. No longer was the survival of the family as a group our primary objective; we cooperated to help each other survive "out there" in the complicated world that had weakened Papa.

My brothers encouraged me to run for school office, to try out for majorette and song leaders, and to run for Queen of various festivities. They were proud that I was breaking social barriers still closed to them. It was acceptable for an Oriental male to excel academically and in sports. But to gain recognition socially in a society that had been fed the stereotyped model of the Asian male as cook, houseboy, or crazed Kamikaze pilot, was almost impossible. The more alluring myth of mystery and exotica that surrounds the Oriental female made it easier, though no less spiritually painful, for me.

Whenever I succeeded in the hakujin world, my brothers were supportive, whereas Papa would be disdainful, undermined by my obvious capitulation to the ways of the West. I wanted to be like my Caucasian friends. Not only did I want to look like them, I wanted to act like them. I tried hard to be outgoing and socially aggressive, and to act confidently like my girlfriends. At home I was careful not to show these personality traits to my father. For him it was bad enough that I did not even look very Japanese; I was too big, and I walked too assertively. My breasts were large, and besides that I

showed them off with those sweaters the hakujin girls wore! My behavior at home was never calm and serene, but I still tried to be as Japanese as I could around my father.

As I passed puberty and grew more interested in boys, I soon became aware that an Oriental female evoked a certain kind of interest from males. I was still too young to understand how or why an Oriental female fascinated Caucasian men, and of course, far too young to see then that it was a form of "not seeing," of stereotyping. My brothers would warn me, "Don't trust the hakujin boys. They only want one thing. They'll treat you like a servant and expect you to wait on them hand and foot. They don't know how to be nice to you." My brothers never dated Caucasian girls. In fact, I never really dated Caucasian boys until I went to college. In high school, I used to sneak out to dances and parties where I would meet them. I would not even dare to think what Papa would do if he knew I was seeing hakujin boys.

What my brothers were saying was that I should not act towards Caucasian males as I did towards them. I must not "wait on them" or allow them to think I would, because they would not understand. In other words, be a Japanese female around Japanese men and act hakujin around Caucasian men. This double identity within a "double standard" resulted not only in a confusion for me of my role or roles as female, but also in who or what I was racially. With the admonitions of my brothers lurking deep in my consciousness, I would try to be aggressive, assertive and "come on strong" towards Caucasian men. I must not let them think I was submissive, passive and all-giving like Madame Butterfly. With Asian males I would tone down my natural enthusiasm and settle into patterns instilled in me through the models of

my mother and my sisters. I was not comfortable in either role.

I found I was more physically attracted to Caucasian men. Although television and films were not nearly as pervasive as they are now, we still had an abundance of movie magazines and movies from which to garner our idols for crushes and fantasy. For years I was madly in love with Lon McAllister and Alan Ladd. Bruce Lee and O.J. Simpson were absent from the idol-making media. Asian men became like "family" to me: they were my brothers. Of course, no one was like my father. He was so powerful. The only men who might possess some of that power were those whose control and dominance over his life diminished his. Those would be the men who interested me.

Although I was attracted to males who looked like someone in a Coca-Cola ad, I yearned for the expressions of their potency to be like that of Japanese men, like that of my father: unpredictable, dominant, and brilliant--yet sensitive and poetic. I wanted a blond Samurai.

When I met my blond Samurai I was surprised to see how readily my mother accepted the idea of our getting married. My father had passed away, but I was still concerned about her reaction. All of my married brothers and sisters had married Japanese-American mates. I would be the first to marry a Caucasian. "He's a strong man and will protect you. I'm all for it," she said. Her main concern for me was survival. Knowing that my world was the world of the hakujin, she wanted me to be protected, even if it meant marriage to one. It was 1957, and interracial couples were a rare sight to see. She felt that my husband-to-be was strong because he was acting against the norms of his culture, perhaps even against his parents' wishes. From her vantage point, where family and group opinion

outweighed the individual's, this willingness to oppose them was truly a show of strength.

When we first married I wondered if I should lay out his socks and underwear every morning like my mother used to do. But then my brothers' warning not to be subservient to Caucasian men or they will take advantage would float up from the past. So I compromised and laid them out sporadically, whenever I thought to do it...which grew less and less often as the years passed. (Now my husband is lucky if he can find a clean pair of socks in the house!) His first reaction to this wifely gesture was to be uncomfortably pleased. Then he was puzzled by its sporadic occurrence, which did not seem to coincide as an act of apology, or because I wanted something. On the days when I felt I should be a good Japanese wife, I did it. On other days, when I felt American and assertive, I did not.

When my mother visited us, as she often did when she was alive, I had to be on good behavior, much to my husband's pleasure and surprise. I would jump up from the table to fill his empty water glass (that is, if she had not beat me to it) or butter his roll. If I did not notice that his plate needed refilling, she would kick me under the table and reprimand me with a disapproving look. Needless to say, we never had mother-in-law problems. He would often ask with hope in his voice "When is your mother coming to visit?"

Despite the fact that early in our marriage we had become aware of the "images" we had married and were trying to relate to each other as the real people we were, he still hoped deep in his heart that I was his Cho-Cho san, his saronged, exotic Dorothy Lamour. And I still saw him as my golden Samurai, wielding his sword of justice and

integrity, slaying the dragons that prevented my acceptance as an equal being in his world, now mine.

My mother dutifully served my father throughout their marriage. I never felt she resented it. I served my brothers and father and did not resent it. I was made to feel not only important for performing duties of my role, but absolutely integral for the functioning of the family. I realized a very basic difference in attitude between Japanese and American cultures towards serving another. In my family, to serve another could be uplifting, a gracious gesture that elevated oneself. For many white Americans it seems that serving another is degrading, an indication of dependency or weakness in character, or a low place in the social ladder. To be ardently considerate is to be "self-effacing" or apologetic.

My father used to say, "Serving humanity is the greatest viture. Giving service of your self is more worthy than selling the service or goods of another." He would prefer that we be maids in someone's home, serving someone well, than be a salesgirl where our function would be to exchange someone else's goods, handling money. Perhaps it was his way to rationalize and give pride to the occupations open to us as Orientals. Nevertheless, his words have stayed with me, giving me spiritual sustenance at times when I perceived that my willingness to give was misconstrued to be a need to be liked or an act of manipulation to get something.

I was talking about this subject with an Asian-American woman friend, recently widowed, whose husband had also been Asian American. He had been a prominent surgeon, highly thought of in the community where we live.

She is 42, third generation Chinese, born in San Francisco in 1935, articulate, intelligent and a professional therapist for educationally handicapped children. She "confessed" of her reticence to let her Caucasian friends know she served her husband. "There is such a stereotyped view that is laid on us. They just don't understand why we do what we do!"

She told me of an incident when she remarked to a Caucasian friend that she polished her husband's shoes. Her friend turned on her in mock fury and said, "Don't you dare let my husband know you do that!" My friend said she felt ashamed, humiliated, that she had somehow betrayed this woman by her seeming subordination to her husband.

"I served him in many ways," she said. "I did it because even though he was a graduate of Stanford and professionally successful, he drove himself to work harder and longer to compete because he felt he was handicapped by being Chinese. You know our Asian men, the ones raised with values from the old country are not equipped to compete like white American men. They are not conditioned to be outwardly aggressive and competitive. It was agony for my husband, and I knew he was out there doing it for us, so I tried to make it easier for him at home." As I looked at her I could see her compassion, and for a flickering moment I saw my mother. A generation had passed, but some things had not changed that much.

My husband and I often joke that the reason we have stayed married for so long is that we continually mystify each other with responses and attitudes that are plainly due to our different backgrounds. For years I frustrated him with unpredictable silences and accusative looks. I felt a great reluctance to tell him what I wanted or what needed to be done in the home. I was inwardly furious that I was

being put into the position of having to tell him what to do. I felt my femaleness, in the Japanese sense, was being degraded. I did not want to be the authority. That would be humiliating for him and for me. He, on the other hand, considering the home to be under my dominion, in the American sense, did not dare to impose on me what he thought I wanted. He wanted me to tell him or make a list, like his parents did in his home.

Entertaining socially was also confusing. Up to recent times, I still hesitated to sit at one head of our rectangular dining table when my husband sat at the other end. It seemed right to be seated next to him, helping him serve the food. Sometimes I did it anyway, but only with our close friends who did not misunderstand my physical placement to be psychological subservience.

At dinner parties I always used to serve the men first until I noticed the women glaring at me. I became self-conscious about it and would try to remember to serve the ladies first. Sometimes I would forget and automatically turn to a man. I would catch myself abruptly, dropping a bowl of soup all over him. Then I would have to serve him first anyway, as an apologetic gesture. My unconscious Japanese instinct still managed to get what it wanted!

Now I just entertain according to how I feel that day. If my Japanese sensibility is stronger I act accordingly and feel comfortable. If I feel like going all-American I can do that too, and feel comfortable. I have come to accept the cultural hybridness of my personality, to recognize it as strength and not weakness. Because I am culturally neither pure Japanese nor pure American does not mean I am less of a person. It means I have been enriched with the heritage of both.

As I look back on my marriage and try to compare it to the marriage of my parents, it seems ludicrous to do so...like comparing a sailboat to a jet airliner; both get you there, but one depends on the natural element of wind and the other on technological expertise. What does emerge as a basic difference is directly related to the Japanese concept of cooperation for group survival and the American value of competition for the survival of individualism. My Japanese family cooperated to survive economically and spiritually. Although sibling rivalry was subtly present, it was never allowed the ferocity of expression we allow our children. I see our children compete with each other. I have felt my husband and I compete with each other...not always in obvious ways such as professional recognition or in the comparison of role responsibilities, but in attitudes towards self-fulfillment. "I love you more than you love me," or "My doing nothing is more boring than your doing nothing."

Competition does provide some challenge and excitement in life. Yet carried to extremes in personal relationships, it can become destructive. How can you fully trust someone you are in competition with? And when trust breaks down, isolation and alienation set in.

I find that another basic difference is between my mother and myself in how we relate to sons. I try very consciously not to indulge my son, as my mother had indulged my brothers. My natural inclination is to do this. So I try to restrain it. In fact, I find myself being harder on him, afraid that my constrained Japanese training to please the male might surface, crippling instead of equipping him for future relationships with females who may not be of

my background, hampering his emotional survival in the competitive, independent world he will face when he leaves the nest.

How my present attitudes will affect my children in later years remains to be seen. My world is radically different from my mother's world, and all indications point to an even wider difference in our world from our children's. Whereas my family's and part of my struggle were racially based, I do not foresee a similar struggle for our children. Their biracialness is, indeed, a factor in their identity and self-image, but I feel their struggle will be more to sustain human dignity in a world rapidly dehumanizing itself with mechanization and technology. My hope is they have inherited a strong will to survive, that essential trait which ethnic minorities in this country have sharply honed.

III

In searching for remarks to conclude this paper, I find myself hearkening again to imagined words of advice from my parents. My mother would say, "Love yourself. Nurture your children and your family with love and emotional support. Accept change if it means protecting your loved ones."

My father would say, "We are all brothers. Brother must not be pitted against brother; race must not be pitted against race. We do not raise ourselves at the expense of others. Through cooperation we advance together as human beings."

I see the yin and the yang of their sensibilities and acknowledge how the combination of them has formed my own. Thus, I close with these words, "In this game of life, we are only as good as our partner...our

partner being the other in a male-female relationship, or a race or ethnic group co-existing with a dominant culture. The best game is when partners are equal, in top form, sharing their diversities, and enriching their experience. Dominating a partner only weakens the game, unbalancing it, lessening its vigor and quality. It is my hope in these changing times that the rules for the game will improve, encouraging understanding, and thus, acceptance and respect for all partners."

Mental Health Needs as Affected by Historical and Contemporary Experiences

Stanley Sue

STANLEY SUE

Stanley Sue attained a B.A. from the University of Oregon, and an M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of California at Los Angeles. A professor at the University of Washington, he has an established interest in minority issues. Co-author of Asian-Americans: Psychological Perspectives, Sue has also published numerous articles in psychology and related journals. Among the organizers of the Association of Asian-American Psychologists, Sue also served on the Subcommittee on Special Populations of the President's Commission on Mental Health.

When I was first invited to present a talk on Asian Americans at this seminar, I felt a deep sense of happiness and of anxiety. The happiness was over the fact that the task would give me the opportunity to share some of my concerns over the mental health needs of Asian Americans with students, faculty, humanists, and the general public. Yet, I also felt apprehensive since three problems immediately came to mind. First, some of you have probably had extensive contact with Asian Americans while others of you may have had little or no contact. Therefore, it is difficult to present a message that will have meaning for different audiences. Second, Asian Americans are composed of many different groups with distinct experiences--for example, Chinese, Guamanians, Japanese, Koreans, Philipinos (or Filipinos), Samoans, Vietnamese, and so on. The problem is that in discussing Asian Americans one has a hard time characterizing all of these Asian groups and must speak in generalities or draw out common principles. Since I am Chinese American, many of my comments are probably more applicable to Chinese Americans. Third, there are many myths and misconceptions regarding the mental health of Asian Americans. An important task is to examine these myths and to facilitate a better understanding of the status of Asian Americans.

In this presentation, a very brief history is provided on Asians in this country. The importance of culture and of contemporary experiences in shaping mental health forms the major part of my talk.

History

If we look at the patterns of immigration, different trends are found for each of the Asian groups. Chinese were the first Asian group to enter this country in significant numbers. This was around the 1850s. At the

turn of the century, Japanese immigrated to the United States. Philipinos came even later and significant numbers had entered by 1930. Finally, within recent years, Koreans and Vietnamese have come to the U.S. in very large numbers. In 1965 there was a liberalization of immigration laws so that many Asians are entering the United States. By 1980, it is estimated that the Asian-American population will be three million, which is double the 1970 population figure (Owan, 1975).

Without belaboring the point, I think it is clear that Asians have been subjected to a great deal of prejudice and discrimination. They were not allowed to testify in court, special laws and taxes were directed toward Asian Americans, and, of course, the relocation of over 110,000 Japanese Americans during World War II was a tragic event. But why did Asians come to this country and persist in staying here? Asians came to this country for reasons not too different from those of the English, Irish, Italian, etc. groups. Immigrants tend to look for a better life style, to increase their financial status, to send money back to their families in the old country, to rejoin family members who have immigrated, to escape misery, to find political or personal freedom, etc. In addition, more specific reasons can probably be found for Asian immigration. For example, the discovery of gold in California in the mid-1800s helped to motivate many Chinese to leave China. The need for cheap labor also resulted in a wave of immigrants. More recently, the political and wartime conditions in South Vietnam have resulted in the settlement of a large number of Vietnamese in the United States. The point of this discussion is to provide a brief context to view Asian-American mental health.

Mental Health

Stressors and Resources

Mental health is influenced by (1) stressors and (2) resources. Stressors are events, conditions, or situations that alter one's equilibrium, causing tension, strain, or anxiety. The death of a loved one, loss of a job, moving to a new place of residence, and starting school are all examples of possible stressors. It is intuitively apparent that the nature, extent, and duration of stress have major effects on psychological well-being. Research studies have shown that stressful life events influence physical health and psychological status. In fact, researchers have developed scales to assess the number of stressful life events that occur (see Dohrenwend & Dohrenwend, 1974). If one accumulates over a short period of time a large number of stressful life events such as divorce, problems with in-laws, isolation from familiar surroundings, and so on, that person has a greater probability of developing illness or psychological symptoms. As discussed later, it is my belief that contrary to public opinion, many Asian Americans are under a great deal of stress.

Stress is not the only factor that determines mental health. While one person may react to a stressor--for example the death of a spouse--with severe depression, another individual may adapt and adjust quite well. Assuming that both persons have felt a keen sense of loss, what accounts for the differences in reactions? One reason may well be that the individual who adapts well to stress has certain resources to aid in readjustment. These resources can reside within the person in the form of inner coping strengths and mechanisms. Another possibility is that one's family or community is a resource. In times of stress or need, the family or the

community can provide support and facilitate adjustment. The type of resource utilized often depends upon one's culture. Different cultures have different means of handling problems. As an illustration of cultural differences in dealing with problems, let us examine a comparative analysis made by the anthropologist Francis Hsu (1971) who contrasts Chinese and American cultures. Hsu essentially believes that all human beings behave according to certain roles or rules in interpersonal relationships (e.g., a teacher, husband, nurse, and political leader learn certain ways of acting according to the role assumed) and according to an affective need for intimacy (i.e., social and emotional intimacy) that makes life meaningful. Most individuals develop affective and social bonds with immediate members of the family such as parents, siblings, or other close relatives. Chinese culture stresses that these bonds should be continuous so that the individual's self-esteem and future are tied to the family or kin. The family remains as an important root for the individual throughout the person's lifetime, even if that person leaves for another country and is isolated from the family. Western culture, with its emphasis on rugged individualism, pushes the person to find his or her own roots away from the affectionate and intimate bonds first learned in the family. While having greater freedom and independence, the individual who is socialized in Western culture begins to lose the affective bonds that define human existence. Therefore, the individualistic person is forced to find meaning by (1) self-exploration and an existential search for meaning or (2) finding material goals or social, religious, political, etc., causes in an attempt to satisfy the affective needs. Affective relationships with peers are difficult since the stress on

individualism fosters a great deal of competition. Chinese culture, on the other hand, emphasized kinship from birth to death so that affective or emotional needs tend to be fulfilled at the price of conformity to family and elders. These cultural differences can also be seen in our techniques of social control. For example, in our attempts to stop air piracy (sky-jackings) a few years ago, we used detection devices (electronic hardware, passenger search, personality profile analysis of suspected skyjackers, etc.), force (sky marshals), or the elimination of sanctuaries for hijacked planes; in drug abuse we try to detect and punish pushers and to explain the disastrous effects of drugs to youths; in keeping children from opening medicine bottles, we have invented child-proof lids on bottles that can only be opened by complicated manoeuvers, often sacrificing our fingernails in the process; to see that fewer people are killed in auto accidents, we have devised an intricate system in which cars emit an irritating noise or will not start without the seatbelts being fastened. All of these measures are culturally determined and involve external restraints. For many Asian Americans, restraints are more internalized according to family values, so that arousing feelings of guilt or shame can act as a powerful means of social control. Hsu feels that in our society we have failed to emphasize why people want to hijack planes, why youths are "turning on" to drugs, why children attempt to open medicine bottles despite warnings from parents, and why individuals are so little concerned with highway safety.

The point in this discussion is not to emphasize how one culture is better than another. Nor is it being argued that we can stereotype all Chinese as having internal restraints or that rugged individualism is

characteristic of all Americans. Rather, my main point is that cultural differences may be quite important in the analysis of the kinds of resources employed by people in dealing with problems. To understand the mental health of Asian Americans, we must appreciate their cultural orientation and how resources are applied.

Asian-American Mental Health

Thus far, it has been argued that mental health is a function of stressors and of resources and that cultural variables are important considerations. Generally speaking, if a group encounters a great deal of stress and has very few resources to deal with the stress, then the group will probably show poor mental health. If, however, a group experiences few stressors and has many resources, that group will most likely show positive mental health and low rates of mental disturbance. My belief is that Asian Americans do encounter significant stressors and that resources are inadequate. This belief challenges the widely held assumption that Asian Americans have no problems or that Asian Americans "take care of their own."

What kinds of stress do Asian Americans encounter? Asian Americans encounter pressures or tensions because of conflicts in cultures and of the rapidity of social change.

Cultural Diversity

For a long time, social scientists have emphasized the process of culture conflict in the socialization of ethnic minority children. Culture conflict presumably exists whenever (1) members of one culture come into contact with the norms, values, and behavioral patterns of another culture, (2) the two cultures conflict or significantly differ

from each other, and (3) conformance to each culture is rewarded and socialized. All of these conditions appear to be satisfied. Asian Americans have been found to be more oriented toward the dominant American culture as a function of the number of generations that one's family has been in the United States, the area of residency (outside versus inside of an ethnic enclave such as Chinatown), and the citizenship status (American instead of non-American). These findings by Fong (1965) and by Kitano (1976) suggest that Asians are exposed to American values and that progressive exposure to these values changes the orientation of Asian Americans.

There is also evidence that Asian and American cultures significantly differ in certain values and practices. While we reject the notion of a national character and acknowledge the tremendous variations within what has been traditionally considered "Asian" and mainstream "American" cultures, there are cultural differences in emphasis. For example, A. Chin (1976) notes that Chinese have traditionally been influenced by generational continuity and the solidarity of one's kinship system which includes ancestors and relatives in a particular clan. The family is an important system for Japanese, Koreans, and Philipinos as well. Elders are given considerable respect and authority. In the United States, American values de-emphasize generational continuity and kinship. The status of elders is undermined by the youth-oriented perspective in the United States. Kinship alliances are more restricted to the nuclear family and even here, children are encouraged to eventually raise their own families and become independent and autonomous from the family in which they were raised.

Exposure to different cultural values is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for stress. To a large extent, cultural stress occurs when there are dual pressures to conform to both (conflicting) cultures. Many Asian-American children are socialized by their parents to appreciate the continuity of their family, to respect elders, and to forego individual gratifications that are at the expense of the family or group. Contact with mainstream American society has created a different system in which rugged individualism, adaptation to peer group influences, and the exaltation of youth rather than elders are rewarded. Individual creativity, assertiveness, and initiative are encouraged in American schools, although these characteristics may be frowned upon in many Asian homes (Chun-Hoon, 1971). Furthermore, aspects of Chinese contributions and culture may be ignored or actively discouraged in public schools. For example, Yee (1973) has found that the vast majority of social studies textbooks used in elementary and secondary schools made no reference to Chinese or to their contributions in American society. What coverage of Chinese there was in the textbooks tended to be stereotypic, superficial, and brief.

Many social scientists feel that exposure to different cultural demands creates problems for Asian-American children. Bourne (1975) found that young Chinese Americans who were clients at a mental health clinic exhibited anxiety over the inability to reconcile their parental wishes concerning filial piety, achievements in academics, and conformance to the family with the roles and values of youths in the larger society. Males perceived problems centered around social isolation, passivity, and academic achievement, while females experienced guilt feelings in their liaison with Caucasian males. Fong (1973) also believed that

the American public school system teaches children to assert one's independence and autonomy which undermine parental authority. Cultural conflicts heighten what is called an "identity crisis" and this crisis has been observed for Asian-American groups (Kitano, 1976; Morales, 1974; Chang, 1977).

All of these studies indicate that cultural conflict can lead to personality difficulties and tensions between parents and children. Are Asian-American children inevitably caught between parents and children? Are Asian-American children inevitably caught between opposing cultural forces that are detrimental to mental health? In order to resolve the conflict, will Asian Americans have to completely assimilate to American or Western values? I believe that cultural conflict does create stress. However, many Asian Americans have developed a healthy bicultural orientation. A similar observation was made by R. Chin (1976) who examined the Chinese-Canadian community in Montreal. Being exposed to different cultures does not inevitably lead to a detrimental identity crisis, because identity is a dynamic process in which a stable, healthy, and consistent self-reference as a Chinese American or Chinese Canadian can and often does develop. The task is to specify the conditions that foster a healthy bicultural identity, an issue discussed later.

Social Change

The United States is a rapidly changing country. Technology, economic and political fluctuations, the energy crisis, and so on have had a profound impact on all of our lives. Social change can be quite stressful to the extent that it (1) is rapid and unexpected, (2) requires extensive life changes, and (3) occurs faster than the ability to find adjustive techniques and resources. Many Asian Americans are especially

confronted with social changes. Almost 100,000 Asians immigrate to this country each year. The Asian population in the United States is becoming more and more an immigrant group. Although there are many reasons for this immigration, one of the primary factors has been economic: Asians are seeking a better life style for themselves and their families. And yet, aspirations have far exceeded reality. In order to live in more familiar surroundings, many immigrants locate in Chinatowns or ethnic ghettos where there are housing shortages, unemployment, poor health facilities, etc. Many children are unable to compete in schools because of language difficulties. Both parents must often work long hours, leaving children unsupervised. This is a particular problem since the close family relationship, valued by many Asians, is undermined. Parental control is supplanted by peer group influences. Even if children adapt and become accustomed to the values and expectations of the public school system, there are difficulties. They may be socialized to values that conflict with those of their parents, causing a severe generation problem. The rapidity, turbulence, and unexpected nature of these life changes cause stress, as mentioned previously.

Immigrants to this country undoubtedly experience severe life changes. Being in a new country, trying to find a job, living in a foreign culture, and encountering prejudice and discrimination are major life events that demand a great deal of social readjustment. Persons who do not have techniques to facilitate transition from one culture to another are likely to be at risk for physical and emotional disburbances. Hinkle (1974) investigated a sample of China-born persons living in the United States. These Chinese had undergone considerable cultural and social changes.

Medical histories as well as physical and psychological tests revealed a greater tendency for illnesses than a comparable-aged group of Americans. Hinkle concludes that exposure to cultural or social change may lead to poor health if the change occurs in a person who has pre-existing susceptibility to illness and who perceives the change as being important and if the change requires significant readjustment in activities, habits, ingestants, and the physical environment.

Degree of Mental Health

It is my belief that these stressors reduce mental health. Does this mean that Asian Americans are at high risk for mental disorders? Do we see large numbers of "psychological casualties"? Early beliefs were that Asian Americans represented a model or successful minority group, free of the problems encountered by other minority groups. These myths were applied to the mental health arena so that it was believed that Asian Americans have low rates of mental disturbance. A number of studies suggested that Asian Americans were better adjusted than other Americans since they were seen infrequently in mental hospitals or community mental health centers. In one study, I found that Asian Americans represented only 0.7% of the population of patients at community mental health centers while they represented 2.4% of the general population served by these centers (Sue, 1977). However, we know that rates of mental disturbance for minority groups cannot be accurately estimated by reference to the proportion of individuals who utilize mental health facilities. There are many reasons why one group may or may not use facilities. The stigma in being a mental patient, the accessibility of mental health services, and the responsiveness and adequacy of services play a vital role in

determining utilization. If you talk with practitioners working with Asian Americans, they can often provide personal experience of difficulties in getting Asian-American clients to utilize facilities. I had one such experience in a city with a large Asian-American community. I was working at a hospital with a psychiatric ward in a suburban area and also at a mental health facility in Chinatown. While at the hospital, I recall a Chinese women who brought her husband in for treatment. Her husband appeared to be severely disturbed, having hallucinations and delusions that he was being threatened and poisoned by his family and by communists. The husband spoke very little English. Since my ability to conduct therapy in Chinese is somewhat limited, I told the woman that she should consider bringing her husband to the mental health facility in Chinatown where there was a psychologist and psychiatrist who could offer therapy in Cantonese or Mandarin. At this point, the woman appeared to be quite embarrassed and apologetic. She said, "I know it sounds awful but I can't bring him to Chinatown. You see, my children play at the Chinatown center and if I brought him to the center everyone would know that he is crazy. My children could no longer play there if everyone knew he was like this. Can't you help him?" The mental health facility was designed as a community center for children as well as a social service agency. I had two reactions to the situation. First, I felt frustrated. The woman's feelings were understandable and yet her husband could have benefited immensely from treatment at the facility in Chinatown. Second, I felt disgusted that I was unable to speak more Chinese and that there was such a shortage of bilingual therapists available. In any event, the general conclusion reached by many researchers

and practitioners is that rates of mental disturbance for Asian Americans have been underestimated. Many Asian Americans do have serious problems involving adaptation, economic survival, identity crisis, etc.

Resources

Adaptive skills are often learned in the family and in community settings. These settings also provide resources and supports in times of stress. Thus, it is important to understand the family and the community as transmitters of skills to children and as support systems during stress. As mentioned previously, our analysis is necessarily an over generalization in which individual differences are submerged.

Family

The family (nuclear or extended) is the primary force for socializing Asian-American children. Most families have maintained some aspects considered under the general rubric of "Chinese," "Japanese," etc.: cultural practices, value patterns, language, food, calendar celebrations and rituals, music, and home decorations.

Translated into resources against stress, the family satisfied affective needs, provided a sense of belongingness and identity, and gave mutual support despite physical isolation from old world values and other hardships. It is unclear how Asian families deal with emotional stress and how successful these efforts are. Because of kinship ties and desires to preserve a good family name, disturbances in the family are not likely to come to public attention. My speculation is that there may be a series of steps taken when a child begins to exhibit emotional disturbance. First, there are direct cognitive appeals (admonitions, advice-giving, appeals to shame and guilt) to the child for proper behaviors. A cognitive

approach may be used because many Asians believe that will power and self-control determine behaviors (Sue, Sue, & Sue, 1975). If these measures fail, respected third parties or intermediaries (discussed in more detail later) are called upon. Finally, the family may turn to Western forms of psychotherapy and treatment as a last resort. We do not know of any studies that examine the efficacy of family or cultural resources. There is evidence, however, that traditional forms of public mental health services in American society are inappropriate for a large number of Asian Americans. For example, I found that over 50% of all Asian Americans who utilized mental health centers in Seattle dropped out of treatment after one session (Sue, 1977). (The dropout rate was under 30% for Caucasians.) It was not that Asian Americans were less disturbed. Rather, it appears that many Asian Americans find little benefit from traditional forms of treatment. As noted by Sue, Sue, and Sue (1975) many Asian Americans believe that mental health is due to (1) will power and (2) the avoidance of morbid thinking. If they believe that the avoidance of morbid thoughts is a healthy process, then it seems likely that such belief is encouraged and reinforced by subcultural values. Yet, some forms of psychotherapy view the avoidance of morbid thoughts as a repressive or suppressive process that is detrimental to the well-being of individuals. My belief is that avoidance of morbid thinking is better conceptualized for Asians as a cultural means of handling situations rather than as a sign or a symptom of an unhealthy process.

Community Resources

In addition to the family, resources against stress can be found in Asian-American communities. The concept of community encompasses a physical sense (e.g., Chinatowns) and a psychological sense (e.g., ethnic

identity) that I would like to address. During times of stress, individuals often work with teachers, ministers, or physicians. R. Chin (1976) has also indicated that in certain Asian communities, other third parties or intermediaries (shopkeepers, friends, respected elders, community leaders, etc.) are available. These intermediaries often translate English, write letters, provide information, or otherwise act on behalf of persons in need of help. In view of the importance of respect for elders and for the opinion of others, parents may ask intermediaries to talk with a child who is experiencing problems. For example, if parents are having difficulties communicating with their son who is doing poorly in school, they may ask an uncle (respected by the parents and the son) of the boy to intervene. Such informal assistance systems are found in all cultures. For Asian Americans, these systems may be quite prominent because formal mental health services are frequently avoided. Homma-True (1976) found that Chinese Americans underutilized mental health services in the Oakland Chinatown area. By surveying a sample of Chinese, she found that many respondents would utilize community mental health facilities if these facilities had bilingual staff.

In summary, there are important resources that can be found in Chinese families and in Chinese communities. The presence or absence of stressors is but one determinant of mental health.

Not all Asian Americans live in communities with large numbers of Asian Americans. Available evidence seems to indicate that large numbers of Chinese who do not live in Chinatowns nevertheless make frequent visits to local Chinatown areas (R. Chin, 1976). But what about those who reside far away from Asian communities? What is their sense of identity, belongingness, and community? Despite physical isolation from Asian communities,

many Asian Americans have a strong psychological sense of community which is discussed in the final section.

Individual Resources

So far, we have examined stressors and resources that influence the mental health of Asian Americans. Culture conflict and social change must be dealt with and the family and the community resources are means by which adaptation to life demands can be achieved. However, the process of mental health is more than the sum of stressors and resources (family and community). Consideration must also be made of individual strengths and weaknesses that act upon stressors and that can properly utilize resources. For example, the aversive effects of cultural conflict can be minimized by Asian Americans. Many children are now growing up with strong bicultural identity as Chinese (Japanese, Korean, etc.) and as Americans. There is an active attempt to integrate bicultural experiences. Sometimes the integration involves discriminative control or acting in accordance with the situation. An Asian-American student may defer to family elders; yet in the presence of adult Caucasian teachers, the person may be quite assertive. We also see young Asian adults who marry Caucasians, leave their parents' homes, and presumably lose their "Asianess," nevertheless, they volunteer to help other Asian Americans. There may also be a unique blend of Asian and American patterns. Some Chinese-American families may eat Chinese food for dinner and have apple pie for dessert. Young married couples may consider their own nuclear family as being the most important relationship, yet the strong affective bonds to their parents are still present. In other words, ethnicity and accultration are not necessarily mutually exclusive or

incompatible. Biculturalism is not merely the selection of behavioral patterns that represent the best of the Eastern and Western cultures. Rather, through bicultural experiences there is an interaction effect that yields a distinct identity. Biculturalism may result in greater personal flexibility to manage social change. Individuals can learn how to learn to cope with the turbulence of social change.

The main point in the discussion of family, community, and individual resources is that within the conditions that cause stress are also the seeds for tremendous growth and development. This is not a romantic or idealistic view. We can acknowledge both the stressful situation of Asians in the United States and the positive strategies that have evolved. Past research has emphasized a "deficit" model where minority groups are perceived as exhibiting deficits because of a stress. This view needs to be balanced with an analysis of resources in minority groups.

Examination of stressors and of resources also provides some direction for our preventive efforts, ideally aimed at Asian-American children. Efforts should be made to reduce the conflicting nature of cultural diversity. Children should be taught to recognize aspects of cultural conflict and differential demands. Involvement of parents with the educational system and the responsiveness of schools to the needs of Asian Americans must be fostered. Not only schools but also churches, mental health agencies, Asian associations, and other community organizations should actively deal with the problems of cultural conflict. Finally, in minimizing the disruptive effects of social change, self-help groups, bilingual-bicultural programs, social service agencies, etc., designed for Asian Americans are slowing the impact of rapid and unfamiliar social

environmental change. Changes must also occur in our formal means of delivering mental health services. Bilingual therapists must be employed for clients who have limited English skills. Bicultural therapists--i.e., those who understand the cultural backgrounds and experiences of Asian Americans--should be an essential part of any service that works with these clients. Thus, by decreasing stressors and by improving family, community, and personal resources, we can move toward the promotion of mental health.

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The Life and Practice of a Contemporary Medicine Man

Joseph Eagle Elk (Rosebud Sioux)

and

Gerald Mohatt (translator)

JOSEPH EAGLE ELK

Joseph Eagle Elk and Gerald Mohatt provide an unusual written statement of the medicine man's perception of his role in traditional mental health care among the Rosebud Sioux. Eagle Elk is a Lakota medicine man who has shared his experiences as a native practitioner to the limits which are culturally permitted. Stanley Redbird, Chairman of the Rosebud Medicine Men and Associates, and Lorenzo Eagleroad, a singer, participated in the presentation of this paper. These four resource persons are from the Community Mental Health Project of Sinte Gleska College, Rosebud, South Dakota. Operated by the Rosebud Sioux, the program provides mental health training and services to the Rosebud community. During the seminar presentation (which developed ideas presented in this essay), all four members affirmed that traditional Lakota medicine can be complementary to non-Indian mental health care.

GERALD MOHATT

Gerald Mohatt provides the non-Indian approach to mental health in the Rosebud project. A community psychologist, he earned a B.A. and M.A. from St. Louis University and an Ed.D. in psychology from Harvard University.

This information which I will impart is not from anyone else, but comes only from me. I was not instructed by anyone about this information. I received a vision when I was thirteen years old. No one listened to me because I was still a young boy. As I remember, I was playing in an old junk car one day when I went to sleep in the car. This is when I had the vision. I constantly contemplated on this incident following the experience. Sometimes during the night the same vision would come to me again. This continued for some time and finally it faded away. When the dreams disappeared for awhile, I began to live normally again. I was not concerned about anything. Then after a long period of time the same thing happened to me again. Between the ages of nineteen and twenty, I had another dream, the very same dream again. This really bothered me, but there was nowhere I could go to tell about the experience. I had no one to tell it to. The reason for this was that I associated with a lot of different young men and young women. I could not tell it to anyone at this time because I was embarrassed about it. I thought my friends would laugh at me. Therefore, I kept on living as if nothing happened. I kept the experience to myself and did not worry about it. For many years I lived in this manner. When I reached the age of thirty, I again had the same vision. When I finally came to this point, I realized that I really could not do much about what had happened to me. So I finally followed the instructions given to me by the man in my vision. Because I did what I was told, I have been living as a "doctoring man" to today.

There are men, holy men, and "doctoring" men. They also have a commitment, or vow, which they follow. They were given the vow or obligation in their vision. There is a way in which these men should live

that comes from this vision. This is what they also follow. This vow which I was given is different from the vows that were given to the other holy men. This is why I cannot say: "That man did not do what he was instructed to do." There is a certain way that I am to live, and that is the way that I live up to this day. I do not do more than what I am to do, or I do not do less than what I am to do. I do what I am to do only to the point (degree) to which I am to do it. For example, I handle medicines, but none of those medicines are inside of my house. These are medicines out in the prairies. If I am to use one of these medicines, I go out and pick the medicine I need and bring it back to administer it to the sick person. The reason why I do this is that I do not know the way in which these medicines are to be taken care of. This is why I administer the medicine by taking it directly from where it grows. I do not carry the medicine in a bag. It is when these spirits who I talk to in ceremonies come and tell me what medicine to use that I go and get the medicine and administer it.

Also, there are men who can be chosen by the Great Spirit to be medicine people. When the Great Spirit picks the man, there are things that He has him do. There are some things which the spirits indicate or tell him about and this is what he does. To do these things, he sits down with the altar described for him by the spirits in his vision. He acts according to their directions. He sends his voice to this holy "mysterious" person. This holy entity comes to this man. Here there are certain things that have to be said that are said, and certain things that have to be done that are done: for instance, the people there may want to request or pray for something or to doctor and heal someone. When everything is done the "spirits" again leave. At that moment the man who

is sitting in the middle comes back to where these others are--to an ordinary existence. However, when he sits in the middle with his altar, that man is different. It is not the human knowledge that he has. A man wants the power. He wants to get this power so he seeks it for many years. After a long period of time he finally is given the power. At this time, he is asked to do some certain things for a short while and he is told what these are. They do not tell him anything beyond this. But if he is to do four things, these are the only things that are told to him. If he was to do more than what he was told to do, the spirit then returns back to where he came from. This man will then be there in body only and have lost his ally because he did more than what he was told. This then is the first rule I learned.

I will change at this point. There are ordinary men who have lived very well. They are good at everything, but if the power does not want to go to them, it will never come. Even if this person cries for it, it will never come to him. On the other hand, there is a man who is very poor and pitiful. He does not have anything and is very pitiful. If there is ever a time when the power is to come, the power can freely do this for such a man. This may seem strange but it is true. Today if one were to look back carefully, there are a lot of young men who want to handle this power. They are very expectant, but this cannot be. They look and seek but are not chosen. There are other young men who do not concern themselves with this power. They are just living ordinary lives. These, or some of these, may have had a vision or dream and a promise is attached to them. They may have an "obligation." These "obligations," even one, are a very hard undertaking. Eventually they will have to confront their obligation.

If the spirit speaks, you cannot go against his word. That is another (second) rule. If a human being was about to tell you something good, but you interfered, you have blocked (the message). The medicine man must always listen closely and not interfere. The third rule is this. Whatever the "wokunze" is, some men live poorly and some men live good. The chosen one is to live in between. The reason for this is that you will be able to help the people from both groups. You will not be able to say that one way of living is better than the other. These men are given their "wokunze," (vows and obligations) I believe. This is the way they gave me the "wokunze" so that up to today I have lived in hardship. I can help someone who is very well off, or again I can also help someone who is very poor. This is the way I live today. Next there are those things which come with the "wokunze." It is not the Lakota alone who can utilize these powers, but any man on this land can ask for aid and receive it. The man will have to be reverent and sincere in his attitude towards the ceremony and do what he is told to do. If he does this, he can accomplish what he wants to do. Without this reverent attitude he will not be able to be helped. Either a white man or an Indian can be helped. If I do not want one of these people at the ceremony, I cannot, however, light the pipe. If I push away anyone, I will not be able to say that I pray with the pipe. It is for unity, not divisiveness. So if you treat all people equally, one can light the pipe and pray with it and whatever you want can happen. I have seen this happen before.

In order to have a ceremony, you give the pipe to the medicine man and he smokes it. Then you tell him what the ceremony is to be for. He will tell you what to bring according to his vision. Before the medicine

man sets up his ceremony "altar," the participants go into the sweat lodge, cleanse themselves and come out. Then he goes to the place of the ceremony and there he heats some stones again. With these stones, they incense the room. The offerings that are brought are also incensed. The tabacco ties and the medicine are also incensed. If there are some there who did not go to the sweat bath, these people also incense themselves using the stones. Then they sit down to the ceremony with confidence and what they seek will be granted. Today we do not do many of these things [pre ceremony behaviors] and that is why we lack the confidence and strength in what we are seeking. Some of the things we ask for have just not been possible for us. People wonder why they do not get what they want. It is not so simple as to say that it is just in the hands of the medicine man. Certain things must be done like the cleansing. Taking short cuts damages the chance of the ceremony working. The other thing I mentioned is the patient's belief, sincerity, and reverence. Doubt and lack of concern make success less likely. Also, too often many people come to ceremonies for only their own benefit. Yet the ceremony is put on for one purpose. Everyone should come with this one purpose and join their minds to heal or give thanks or make the certain request. When everyone has joined together, then the power can come. This does not happen often. More often too many people want everything for themselves and forget their responsibilities. However, at times everyone is one and the power comes. Great things happen then.

Puerto Ricans in the U.S.:

The Adopted Citizen

Nicholasa Mohr

NICHOLASA MOHR

Nicholasa Mohr studied art at New York City's Art Students League, the Brooklyn Museum of Art, and the Pratt Center for Contemporary Printmaking. Her artwork has been exhibited nationally and in Latin America. Her experiences growing up in New York City's "El Barrio," led to her evolvement as a writer. Three books, Nilda, El Bronx Remembered, and In Nueva York, recount in a novel and in short stories the perspective and experiences of Puerto Ricans in New York.

The following quotes are excerpts from The Geography of Hunger, a brilliantly written book by Josue de Castro, a Brazilian, published in 1952. In Part III, titled "Hunger in the New World," de Castro devotes a section to Puerto Rico.

> There is one small island in the great reaches of the Antilles which deserves special attention. It boasts, according to a team of outstanding American experts, Soule, Efron, and Ness, the worst and most dangerous nutritional conditions of the whole Caribbean area. This is Puerto Rico, a very black spot on the map of universal hunger...Not until the end of the last century was the land monopolized by the great plantations. Until the time of the United States occupation, 75 percent of the arable land of the island was broken up into small lots containing an average of 12 acres, devoted in the main to subsistence crops. The United States Military Census Commission reported in 1899, immediately after the (U.S.) occupation, that "this general ownership of farms has unquestionably had a great influence in producing the contented condition of the people of this island as contrasted with the restlessness of Cuba, where a large proportion of the cultivated area was in the hands of comparatively few landlords." Profound changes were soon brought about. Small growers were swallowed up by great plantations with their centralized production, and practically disappeared. Through the agency of United States capital, the sugar industry fell under monopolistic control of a small but powerful group of absentee owners. At the same time, it expanded enormously, and came to be the axis of Puerto Rico's whole economic life.

In my novel Nilda (1973) I describe the feelings of a Puerto Rican child as she sits patiently next to her mother in a waiting room of the Welfare Department. With many others, they sit for hours waiting to be called, hoping to be eligible for public assistance. Here is an excerpt from the chapter, "Late November 1941."

> She looked at the grey-green walls: except for two posters, placed a few feet apart, and the big round clock, the walls were bare. She began to study the posters again; she knew them almost by heart. They were full of instructions. The one nearest Nilda had a life-like drawing of a young, smiling white woman, showing how well she was dressed when she went to look for employment. The reader was carefully informed about proper clothing--The second poster was a large faded color photograph of a proper breakfast. The photograph showed fresh oranges, cereal, milk, a bowl of sugar, a plate of bacon and eggs, toast with butter and jelly. The reader was warned that it was not good to leave the house without having had such a breakfast first. Looking at the food, Nilda began to remember that she was hungry. She had eaten her usual breakfast of coffee with boiled milk, sugar, and a roll. It seemed to her that she had eaten a long, long time ago, and her stomach annoyed her when she looked at the bacon and eggs.

In 1917, after nineteen years of U.S. occupation, when famine was rampant throughout the island of Puerto Rico and World War I shook the world, the Jones Act declared Puerto Ricans American citizens. Puerto Rican men were recruited into the armed forces to do battle. This new status legalized an economic dependency, imposed a new language and North

American culture, setting Puerto Ricans apart from the rest of their Latin American family. A new group of "adopted citizens" was created, who would become children of a new Diaspora, forced by history to leave their homeland.

I was born a child of that Diaspora at the height of the "Great Depression" in the 1930s, in a small urban village set in the heart of New York City. This area was called "El Barrio," the neighborhood. There, I grew up alongside other Latinos, speaking Spanish and English. But I also knew we, "us Puerto Ricans," were different from other Latinos, because we were born citizens even in Puerto Rico. It was not a real country, I was told, because it was owned by the United States of America. I learned in the New York City public schools that the Americans saved us from the cruel Spaniards, in a sense, adopted us. We in turn had to be grateful, speak only English, and strive toward total assimilation. In essence, to succeed, I would have to reject a culture and history that I actually knew nothing about. My knowledge about myself and the history of the Puerto Rican people was to come later, much later, when I was able to travel and find books that held the truth.

But as a youngster, like all other children, I wanted to belong. It is not possible to belong when society sees you as an invisible participant, someone who is tolerated, rather than accepted as a necessary member of a group or family. I have spoken to good friends and listened to discussions among people who were adopted children. Very frequently they said, "I only want to know who my biological parents were, just to know who it is I come from." "I never looked like the family I grew up with." "I was always different." "I wanted to belong." These negative feelings are connected with the reasons for adoption.

By contrast, when adoptive parents adopt a child expecting not just to give, but to get much joy and sharing out of that "special relationship," then the results are quite different. Those who had the help, love and understanding of their adoptive parents maintained a close relationship and a strong identity with them. They felt secure that if they found out more about themselves and their past, it would not hurt, but instead help their development.

However, in cases where the reasons for adoption have the basis of "Look how much I have done for you," or, "If it weren't for us, you would not have the comforts or privileges--you are entitled only because of my goodness," etc., then the consequences are negative. Feelings of abandonment, not being wanted, someone doing you a favor, etc., develop and often remain indefinitely.

The Puerto Rican here in the United States suffers from these very feelings, leading to a strong sense of being "outsiders," and thus, alienation. The reasons for the adoption of these "citizens" have produced a group of Americans who rate very near the bottom of the economic scale, who are discriminated against and rarely, if ever, see themselves in positive role models on the media, or anywhere in the mainstream of American society. I could have titled this paper, "Puerto Ricans in the U.S.--Poor Relations." Often a poor relative who is permitted to reside in the family's home out of charity feels much the same way and for good reasons.

In Puerto Rico, the Puerto Rican is a majority, but in the United States he or she becomes an ethnic minority. To define a Puerto Rican leads to a variety of categories, such as; someone who is Spanish-speaking,

or, non-English speaking, or, a nonwhite, or a nonblack, or, someone who is classified ethnically and racially a Hispanic, yet is a born citizen.

Historically, reasons for leaving one's homeland have been and still are many: religious or political persecution, lack of opportunity to pursue one's chosen career...even aesthetic choice of environment. In all cases, when people emigrate from the land of their birth, they choose another nation which best suits their purpose. The United States was built by immigrants who founded this western nation. These immigrants, even if reluctantly abandoning their homeland, entered this country willingly. Once here, they would have to wait years, and study the history of their new adopted country before being allowed to apply for American citizenship. But they did the choosing and could finally make that decision to renounce loyalty and patriotism to their old country and pledge allegiance to the United States of America.

Puerto Ricans contradict this procedure. They are born American citizens, in spite of the fact that Puerto Rico is not a Union State, the Puerto Ricans speak another language, belong to another culture, and cannot vote in national elections that take place in the United States.

The struggle for independence on the small island of Puerto Rico goes back to its original inhabitants, the Tainos, whose resistance against Spanish domination resulted in their annihilation. In less than 25 years after the Spaniards had landed in Puerto Rico the Tainos virtually disappeared. African slaves were brought in to replace the Taino work force. These Africans also fought for their freedom. The fusing of these three cultures, the indigenous Tainos, the colonialist Spaniards, and the African slaves resulted in the Puerto Ricans as we are

to this day. The wars, battles, bloodshed and abundant loss of life for independence have gone on for centuries in Puerto Rico and continue to the present. The political situation on the island is complex, and the different sentiments and political parties often tear the Puerto Ricans apart.

The Puerto Rican here has inherited all of this, compounded by the situation with life in a North American culture. As a child growing and developing, I did not wake up to a tropical sunrise and retire to the sounds of a tropical island's night breezes. Instead I lived in a hard grey industrial city and slept to the rhythm of traffic noise. Teachers and people in authority spoke to me in English. The closest I got to Puerto Rico was listening to the older people's reminiscences and eating the food my mother set on the table. The rest was vague and somewhat of a mystery.

What is amazing to me, as an artist and writer, is the unique way we have of fusing our own integrated culture with the North American experience. There are many things that draw us together, not only within our own ethnic group but with other Latinos, for example, music, language, dance, drama, food, religion, and now literature being written about the Puerto Ricans and Latinos here in the U.S.

A good example is New York City——once Dutch, later English, Irish, Italian and Jewish, it is now a Latino city. The "big apple" has become the "big avocado."

Still, the struggle for daily survival goes on, battling against inadequate and poor housing, against the low quality schools where bilingual education is almost nonexistent——and aggravating this are all the other simple human amenities which are denied us. The Puerto Rican has to have

superhuman strength to survive and to survive intact.

At some point I hope we will realize, as we struggle for political and social representation, that we must obtain the power to determine our own destiny and carve out a better future for our children. This simple right to human achievement is not a favor we should ask for, but a right we deserve.

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La Familia: Myths and Realities[1]

Rene A. Ruiz[2]

RENE RUIZ

Rene Ruiz is a clinical psychologist with long involvement in attempts to address the mental health needs of minorities and Hispanics. He earned his B.A. at the University of Southern California and a Ph.D. at the University of Nebraska. Formerly a research professor with the Family Study Center at the University of Missouri-Kansas City, he has a special interest in families, person perception, and self identity. Ruiz is a professor at New Mexico State University, Las Cruces. Besides publishing many articles, Ruiz is coeditor of Latino Mental Health: A Review of the Literature.

Introduction

Thank you for this opportunity to meet with you to explore several topics of personal and professional interest. As the title indicates, the focus will be on the topic of la familia. For those of you who are "disadvantaged" in the sense of coming from a monocultural, monolingual background, the Spanish noun la familia translates into English as "the family." Some of my comments will pertain to Hispanic families, and thus can be generalized to people whose countries of origin are Central or South American, Cuba, Mexico, Puerto Rico, or other areas in the New World where the Spanish language and culture predominate. Other comments will be more specific in the sense that they will pertain exclusively to families originating from just one of these land areas. As I go along, I shall attempt to identify and maintain this distinction between the general and specific to minimize possible confusion.

The remainder of this introductory section attempts to present and explain a number of principles which are essential to a thorough understanding of the topic and to the organization of this paper. Successive portions of this paper deal with "The Myth" of la familia as it appears in the social science and lay literature; the "Personal Reality" of la familia as I (and others) experienced it in growing up; and finally, there is the presentation of "Some Objective Data" which emerges from several scientific analyses of la familia.

Humanism and Science

C.P. Snow has observed that "two cultures" exist in Europe and the western world which experience difficulty in communication and mutual comprehension because they share different assumptions about the reality

of life, and subsequently speak different "languages." His reference, of course, is to "humanists" versus "scientists"; and that is exactly the audience mixture present here. To minimize possible confusion or misunderstanding, it seems appropriate to explain how I hope to simultaneously communicate lucidly with people from two such different cultures.

Once these prefatory remarks are concluded, and I begin to address myself more directly to la familia, I will assume a humanistic posture. More precisely, the discussion of la familia will be from a perspective which is subjective, personal, and experiential. These comments appear in the section entitled: "Personality Reality." Next, in a section entitled, "Some Objective Data," la familia is re-examined, but this time from a more scientific point of view. Then and there, I shall present research data which bear on the subject.

Truth and Validity

The preceding discussion implies——and it seems appropriate to be more explicit at this point——that the humanistic and scientific approaches represent alternative means of comprehending reality. The former is more subjective and emphasizes personal experiences, while the latter is considered more objective because it aims toward the discovery of "facts." In the ultimate analysis, of course, facts represent personal experiences that everyone agrees upon.

I wish to stress as strongly as possible several points related to these two approaches. First, both are respectable means of structuring reality; and second, either approach can be ultimately proven erroneous in the impression of the world which emerges. There are significant differences

in how information is processed with these two approaches, of course, but either can end up being right or wrong. Thus, the major distinction with regard to accuracy of outcome between the two approaches appears to be semantic. We refer to the "truth" of subjective experiences and to the "validity" of objective data. Despite this difference in labels, the underlying concepts, assumptions, and standards appear highly similar in determining ultimate reality. The process of confirmation is more formalized in the scientific methods, but inaccuracy is equally unacceptable using either approach.

It seems appropriate to begin to share certain elements concerning my personal and professional life as I said I would. In growing up, I was taught a profound respect for the truth. Since the topic concerns la familia it should be noted that this ethic was implanted and nurtured within the context of my family of origin. Particularly high standards of veracity were maintained by both parents, perhaps especially so by my father. Furthermore, my education and training in science served to increase the respect for the truth I originally acquired at home.

Unwarranted Beliefs

Granted this personal, familial, and professional history of commitment to the truth, you can imagine my distress upon encountering a stereotypical description of the Hispanic family in both the social science and lay literature which was contradicted by my experiences of growing up in a Chicano family and which was not supported by any known body of knowledge. In addition to lacking "truth" and "validity" in both the humanistic and scientific sense as described earlier, this stereotype shared these characteristics: it was broadly circulated, widely accepted as accurate

(despite the absence of confirmatory evidence), and it represented an extremely negative description of Hispanic family life. Furthermore, most of the commentators on Hispanic family life had grown up in nonHispanic families and thus lacked the personal life experiences on which to base a subjective and accurate impression. From the perspective of a more objective analysis such as a formal scientific investigation, some might argue that the absence of such experiences renders one incapable of reaching unbiased opinions. The basic question being raised is whether outsiders can ever study another culture in a meaningful way, especially in the absence of consultative advice from ingroup members.

As clearly implied in the preceding paragraph, the number of studies on Hispanic family life is quite small. Furthermore, and of even greater significance, is the fact that data from tangentially relevant studies have sometimes been misapplied. For example, inferences about the "typical" Mexican-American family, in particular, have been made from studies of families residing in small Mexican villages. This is a prime example of the logical error of overgeneralization, since it totally ignores significant and relevant differences in culture group membership, ethnicity, country of residence, socioeconomic status, agricultural versus technological economies, rural versus urban residence, and an entire host of variables which influence the structure and dynamics of family life. These issues are discussed in greater depth in Padilla and Ruiz (1973).

It should also be noted that a significant percentage of these studies, and especially the older ones conducted in Mexico, proceed from psychoanalytic theory. One problem with psychoanalysis as a motivational theory is that it is based on a fairly negative model of humanity. Causes for behavior are assumed to be largely unconscious while simultaneously

representing reactions against unacceptable urges, impulses, or instincts. Thus, it should come as no great surprise that the studies of family life which have been based on psychoanalytic theory have yielded essentially pathological descriptions of intrafamilial processes. The point that theory dictates outcome to at least some degree is not unique to psychoanalytic theory. Research proceeding from either humanistic or behavioristic theories would probably yield second and even third models of family life since the assumptions about human motivation which underlie the three theories are so different. In any event, we should not be surprised that the models of Hispanic family life based on psychoanalytic theory are so negative.

The Pathology Model

The conclusion that family life, or any other readily identifiable aspect, of a given culture group is somehow "pathological" can have very dire consequences. In social science the terms "pathology" or "deviance" model are used interchangeably, but you may be more familiar with a different label used commonly to identify the same process: "Blame the victim." It works like this. First, a group of people are identified who are disliked. Almost always, these people represent a numerical minority with minimal health, social prestige, or wealth. Second, the group is identified as "inferior," "dirty," "lazy," "shiftless," or any one of a large number of unfavorable adjectives. These negative traits are subsequently associated with some identifiable characteristic of the group. Historically, people in the United States have been judged to be "inferior" on the basis of skin color, religious preference, country of origin, accent, costume, or diet. The process of blaming the victim is complete when one argues that whatever problems in life adjustment these "inferior" people experience are due to their basically "inferior" nature. It is not society,

the government, or poverty which causes these problems, it is the maladaptive behaviors of the people themselves.

I will now document "deviance" among Hispanics in the United States. That is, I will cite census data which shows how Hispanics differ from other United States residents with regard to characteristics associated with "inferior" status. Next, I'll discuss how the deviance model is used to infer that these differences are caused by Hispanic family life.

Data from every United States census indicate that, compared to the general population, Hispanics receive fewer years of education, hold more menial positions, have higher rates of unemployment, and earn smaller incomes, both as individuals and as family units. What I have described, of course, is poverty; and poor people receive less adequate health care, and subsequently have higher rates of infant mortality and fewer years of expected longevity. Oh yes, poor people also commit more crimes; or to be more precise, are apprehended and incarcerated with a greater frequency judging from the fact that the inmates in prisons and jails are almost exclusively members of the lowest socioeconomic class.

The deviance model "explains" the plight of Hispanics as due to the pathology of Hispanic family life, rather than to the social, economic, or political environment. Hispanic children quit school early and seek employment because their families transmit the cultural values of "disliking" education, but "liking" work which is low paid, menial, difficult, and with minimal opportunities for advancement. This so-called "explanation" conveniently ignores all the environmental reasons why such a state of affairs should exist: school systems which fail to properly educate students who are not monolingual and monocultural; the economic reality of being

poor and needing to work at an early age to contribute to the support of the family; and general lack of opportunity for advancement in a racist society.

Another example of the operation of the deviance model will illustrate the ludicrous extremes to which it can be applied. It is well known that Hispanics in the United States cherish their cultural traditions more so than other groups. For example, Hispanics as a group have the highest rates of bilingual fluency. Furthermore, it has been documented that Hispanics receive lower scores on tests of intelligence and academic achievement. These two facts are combined and the inference made is that bilingualism retards cognitive function. In other words, if you are bright enough to learn two languages you are less bright than someone who speaks only one. Thus, multiple language fluency has become "pathological" using the deviance model! Logically, it then follows that people who speak five or six languages must be of borderline intelligence and professors of language who master 10 or 12 tongues must be retarded! These conclusions are ludicrous, of course, and would not be tolerated if this question were not ignored so consistently: What is the scientific validity of tests standardized on monolingual, monocultural, middle class samples when applied to bilingual, bicultural, mostly lower class subjects?

These few examples identify only a few of the many serious social problems which Hispanics experience, but they suffice to illustrate the operation of the pathology model. At this point, I will now define the widely-accepted and undocumented myth of the Hispanic family. Next, I will share some personal experiences and will present some fairly new research data which refute many aspects of this myth. The rationale for examining

the Hispanic family in such detail is that la familia has been used as part of the deviance model to "explain" why Hispanics receive so few of the rewards available in our society.

La Familia: The Myth

The basic elements of the myth of the Hispanic family as distorted through the deviance model include patriarchy, masculine dominance, machismo, femine passivity and submissiveness, and sex roles which are rigidly defined. These variables interact in the following manner: The head of the family is the father. He is an authoritaian whose decisions are unquestioned. Furthermore, he is macho. The word translates literally as "male," but carries the connotation of "aggressive masculinity." The term is becoming increasingly common in English and is used most often to praise fast cars, expensive shaving colognes, and high-scoring athletes. In describing the behavior of Hispanic males, however, the term is used in a much more pejorative sense.

The Macho

According to this myth, the Hispanic male is described as sexually aggressive and promiscuous, compulsively unfaithful to his marital vows, chronically alcoholic, and ready to fight at the slightest hint of an affront to his honor. More often than not, this image of machismo is communicated to others through the establishment of a casa chica. In other words, real machos have mistresses, and support them and the second family which is inevitable, in a "small house."

The Feminine Role

The myth dictates that Hispanic women are dominated by men throughout their lives. First, during childhood and adolescence they are dominated by a patriarchal father; and second, after marriage they are dominated by a

dominating, macho husband. The alleged reaction to this life of domination is that submissive daughters become subservient wives through a process of modeling behaviors which occur within la familia. In addition to submissiveness and subservience, Hispanic wives are described as forgiving of their husband and Hispanic mothers are perceived as nurturant of their children. Chronic drunkenness and flagrant infideities are tolerated in order to preserve the integrity of the family unit. As a personal aside, I should like to comment briefly that these behavioral descriptions are inconsistent with my own experiences of growing up in a Chicano family. Furthermore, they are incongruent with my observations of other families, Hispanic or not. I would wager that there are relatively few people, regardless of ethnicity, who would accept these statements as accurate descriptions of the behaviors of their mothers or fathers. But I will elaborate on these opinions at a later point when I present a more formal critique of the myth of la familia.

Sex Roles

It is probably accurate to infer that the behaviors of men and women vary across cultural groups. With regard to the cultural groups under discussion, this statement means nothing more than the suggestion that the typical sex role behaviors of Mexican men and women probably differ from those of Mexican Americans, and that these in turn probably differ from those of non-Hispanics in the United States. Once again, however, alleged characteristics of cultural groups have been regarded as valid even though their existence has yet to be documented. Furthermore, what little validity does exist is destroyed as the cultural characteristics are distorted beyond recognition through exaggeration.

One basic assumption related to sex role behaviors among Hispanics is that their culture fosters more "traditional" marriages in which masculine dominance prevails in terms of power, authority, and decision making within the family. Furthermore, the traditional family, regardless of the ethnicity of its members, is assumed to facilitate the creation of sex roles which are unique and rigid. The adjective "unique" has been selected to identify sex roles which are very different for men and women, and the word "rigid" is used to convey the meaning that men and women never exchange roles. Thus, among Hispanics, machos are real "he-men" as defined by their culture, women behave in a very different manner, and men and women behave very differently from each other. It is also assumed, and this seems logically warranted, that sex role behaviors are acquired to some extent in the context of intrafamilial interaction. Before we accept all these assumptions and inferences, however, it seems judicious to examine more carefully the evidence for these assertions.

Family Structure

Traditional family structures are believed to have a lengthy history, and may have even been the predominant form in earlier times. Furthermore, they continue to be functional even today; for example, they seem to prevail in contemporary Mexican villages. In general, however, traditional families have been--and are--most commonly found in rural settings which depend upon an agriculturally-based economy. Thus, the inference that Mexican Americans in the United States form traditional families because that is the predominant structure in Mexican villages ignores the consistent finding of the census that Hispanics in the United States overwhelmingly establish residences in urban, not rural, settings.

This line of reasoning is weakened further because it ignores other factors which influence family structure and sex role. To provide an obvious example, the "unisex" movement has clearly influenced costume. Concomitant with this, however, are less obvious changes in a whole array of sexual and sex role behaviors. The myths which surround Hispanic family structure, marriage patterns, and sex roles seem to imply that husbands in Anglo marriages in the United States might occasionally share homemaking roles with their wives, Mexican-American husbands might do this less often, but that Mexican husbands never would. As examples of the "feminine" homemaking role, I suggest you think of behaviors such as operating a vacuum cleaner, loading a dishwasher, or putting clean clothes in an automatic dryer. Quite frankly, these are ludicrous examples to illustrate cross-cultural differences in behavior because they ignore international and intranational differences in style of life and standard of living. Nevertheless, the examples are important because they illustrate several points. The effort to document real differences across cultures in sex role behaviors requires carefully-designed research which includes the control or manipulation of a large number of relevant variables. Anyone who assumes such differences exist without conducting research of this type runs the serious risk of reaching erroneous conclusions. It is logical errors of this type which seem primarily responsible for the myth of la familia.

Now we understand the component parts of this myth, it seems timely to evaluate it more carefully. I will begin from the humanistic perspective by sharing some of the personal experiences of growing up in a Hispanic family.

La Familia: The Personal Reality

My initial evaluative comments are that the degree of inaccuracy in the myth is enormous, and that the exaggeration of real traits is considerable. First, the idea that Hispanic families are routinely headed by patriarchs who exercise autocratic authority is unfounded in my experience. Second, the idea that Latina women are submissive objects of abuse is equally erroneous. How many marriages or families are you personally acquainted with which fit such a stereotype? It just does not make sense in this age of Women's Liberation, the various Civil Rights movements, and the tremendous emphasis on self-awareness and the freedom of self-expression, that people are going to tolerate this kind of abuse.

Let me move to the third concept, the macho. The term, of course, is deeply imbedded in the Spanish language and the various Hispanic cultures. Not, however, as defined by nonHispanic researchers. If Hispanic males were as described——that is, sexually hyperactive, addicted to alcohol, and constantly fighting duels over honor of infidelity——well, the culture would have disappeared long ago because surely all the men would have killed each other by now. Obviously, that definition of macho is erroneous. Let me tell you about my father, and both my maternal and paternal uncles. These were my role models as I grew up, and their behavior defined machismo for me.

The key concepts which underlie machismo are communicated by the terms dignidad and respecto. They translate into English exactly as they sound, "dignity" and "respect." A macho--"real man" in Hispanic terms--deports himself with dignity and expects to be treated in the same fashion. In the context of Hispanic culture, "dignity" does not convey stiff formality except perhaps with strangers or supraordinates; but rather, a sense of

positive self-esteem, personal honor, and the respect for truth I alluded to earlier. In interaction with others the expectancy that interpersonal relations will be characterized by mutual dignity is conveyed as respect for other people and their rights. Respect for women by men does not require documentation here because it is so obvious. It appears in Spanish language love songs which glorify romance, religious symbolism which exalts the roles of motherhood and childrearing, and a low divorce rate which reflects the integrity of marriage and the family. Non-Hispanic observers of our cultural value system have ignored these facts, or misinterpreted their meaning. It is also interesting to note how seldom these same observers comment on the well-known Hispanic attitudes of nurturance for the young and reverence for the aged. Perhaps these omissions occur because personal dignity and respect toward others are inconsistent with the contrived myth of the macho and his family.

Next, I would like to comment on the idea that machos maintain mistresses in a casa chica and rear a second family. First of all, if it is happening, it is a very well-guarded secret. At least from me. Second, it violates socioeconomic reality. Hispanics in the United States are over-represented in the lowest income groups and can barely maintain one family, much less two. If you think I am exaggerating, I urge you--at the end of the month when you are paying your bills--to compute how much is left over to maintain a second family in another house. And imagine how much less possible this is for the average blue collar worker.

My final observation on la familia is extremely personal. Quite frankly, I feel uncomfortable at sharing it with strangers because I am unaccustomed to public disclosure of personal intimacies. I have decided

to share this anecdote, however, because it provides more insight into Hispanic family structure, marriage styles, and the roles of men and women than anything else presented thus far.

Very recently I was honored to share the 50th wedding anniversary of my aunt and uncle--and I would like you to know about it. The celebration began with a nuptial mass conducted both in Spanish and English. Kneeling at the altar were my aunt and uncle attended by their grandchildren. The celebrants included a large number of family and friends who seemed as moved as I to hear the couple re-affirm their vows of mutual love and fidelity. Afterwards, approximately 150 guests adjourned to share a nuptial supper with the bride and groom. My uncle began the festivities with a few brief comments. He welcomed the guests and thanked them for participating in what was a joyous occasion for him and his wife. He concluded his remarks with the traditional "toast to the bride," during which he told us of the joys of a shared life which had lasted half a century.

You might assume this behavior is somewhat atypical of Hispanics and/or that our family is assimilated. I cannot disprove this assumption with scientific certitude, but I can tell you that I do not think we are that "different" from other Hispanic families. For example, at the feast just described, the cuisine was Mexican, the music was mariachi, and Spanish and English were heard with approximately equal frequencies. In other words, I think the love, trust, and fidelity which was so apparent on that anniversary date is typical of Hispanic family life. Furthermore, just in case my meaning is not clear, I also think the behaviors described exemplify the sex roles of Hispanic men and women.

161

I think I have made my points and do not need to belabor them further. Let us move now to an examination of objective data bearing on la familia.

La Familia: Some Objective Data

The final analysis of la familia is from a more scientific perspective. To do this, I need to provide you with a little information about the ABC study which is described more thoroughly in Ruiz (in press) and in Ruiz and Cromwell (1978).

The acronym "ABC" identifies the ethnicities of the subjects--Anglo, Black, and Chicano--in a study of family life in the inner city. A total of 455 subjects were studied using a survey questionnaire developed by a multiethnic, multidisciplinary research team. The completed survey included 686 separate items, subdivided into 31 scales measuring different variables. Each subject was interviewed privately by a trained examiner of the same sex and in the language of choice. All subjects were members of the lowest socioeconomic class, so the modest reimbursement they received for a two-hour interview was a meaningful reward. At this point I will introduce the work of two colleagues who studied responses to selected portions of the survey instrument.

As part of her dissertation project for a doctorate in education at the University of Missouri at Kansas City, McCurdy studied sex role and decision making. Her work is described in greater detail in McCurdy (1977) and in McCurdy and Ruiz (1978). Subjects for her studies included 128 married couples living together: 41 Anglo, 39 Black, and 48 Chicano pairs. Her measure of sex role was the same as had been used in previous and similar research with Mexicans (Diaz-Guerrero, 1955), Mexican Americans (Ramirez III, 1967, 1969), and Puerto Ricans (Fernandez-Marina,

Maldonado-Sierra, and Trent, 1958). Response to the items were recorded using a four-point, modified forced choice Likert scale as follows: "strongly agree," "agree," "disagree," or "strongly disagree." The items themselves are:

1. There is no one greater than my mother.
2. The place for the woman is in the home.
3. Men are more intelligent than women.
4. The husband should make the final decisions in the family.

Decision making was measured by a six item scale developed by Blood and Wolfe (1960) and modified by Klein (1975). Items are as follows:

1. Who decides what car to buy?
2. Who decides whether a member of your family is sick enough to call a doctor?
3. Who decides whether or not the wife will work or quit work?
4. Who decides how much money the family will spend per week on food?
5. Who decides with whom the children will play?
6. Who decides how the children will treat each other around the house?

The six possible response categories to the decision making items are: "husband always...husband more than wife...husband half the time and wife half the time...husband and wife decide together...wife more than husband... wife always."

The myth of la familia as described earlier leads to several inter-related predictions. With respect to sex role, the first prediction is that all married couples should agree with each others' endorsements; and second, that the Chicano couples would respond in a pattern indicating a greater frequency of traditional marriages. Marriages were deemed traditional when

both husband and wife tended to endorse traditional items; for example, mutual endorsement of an item such as, "The place for the woman is in the home." There were two other types of marriage structure studied (non-traditional and transitional) which are of minor relevance to this discussion.

The first prediction was confirmed for Anglos and Chicanos only; Spearman coefficients of correlation and probability levels of Anglo, Black, and Chicano couples for sex role were: .34 (p.01), -.04 (NS), and .44 (p.01). The second prediction was rejected. That is, there were no differences in the frequency of traditional marriages across the three ethnic groups (Chi Square = 3.80, df = 4, p = NS).

The third and fourth predictions concern decision making. The third is that husbands and wives would respond to the decision making items in a similar fashion; and fourth, that Chicano couples would indicate a joint preference for masculine dominance in decision making. There was partial confirmation of the third prediction as shown by these correlations between Anglo, Black, and Chicano couples: .65 (p.01), .44 (p.01), and .14 (NS). The fourth prediction that Chicano husbands and wives would endorse items indicating that Chicano husbands were more dominant in decision making than Anglo or Black husbands was rejected (Chi Square = 4.90, df = 6, NS).

The results of the McCurdy study which relate to la familia can be stated succinctly. In general, Chicano husbands and wives agree on sex role items, but do not agree on decision making items. Chicano couples do not differ from Anglo or Black couples with respect to either frequency of traditional marriage as measured by sex role behavior, or degree of male dominance in marital decision making.

The second study to be presented examines the structure and dynamics of the Hispanic family, with special emphasis on the nature of the extended family. Mindel (1978) examined response of all 455 subjects to the question, "How close do you feel....." to five categories of kin: parents, brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, grandparents, and cousins. A five-point Likert scale was used to record responses as follows:

1. "very close,"
2. "close,"
3. "fairly close,"
4. "not too close,"
5. "not at all close."

Five one-way analyses of variance were computed--one for each category of kin--with ethnicity as the main effect. The basic finding of relevance to this discussion is that the lowest mean scores (that is, more 1. "very close" and 2. "close" responses) were elicited from Black, not Anglo or Chicano subjects! In other words, contrary to expectations based on the myth of la familia, it is inaccurate to state that Chicanos feel "more close" to their relatives than do Anglos or Blacks.

Next, Mindel (1978) studied the frequency of "visiting" and "recreation" with the same five categories of kin. A six-point Likert scale was used to record responses as follows:

1. "Once a week or more,"
2. "several times a week,"
3. "several times a year,"
4. "once or twice a year,"
5. "less than once a year,"
6. "never/does not apply."

Statistical analyses of the relative number of interactions with kin yielded only one significant difference across ethnicity. Anglos interacted with kin less frequently than did Blacks or Chicanos (mean scores are 3.11, 2.53, and 2.38 respectively, and p.01 for a one-way analysis of variance). Mindel also determined that Chicanos have more relatives living in the same geographical area. Thus, a statistical analysis of the absolute number of kin interactions yields a very different picture. The percentages of Anglos, Blacks, and Chicanos who visit relatives more than 12 times per month are 4.9%, 6.2%, and 20.4% (p.01). In other words, Chicanos indicate that they interact with relatives "less" often than do Anglos or Blacks; but Chicanos have so many more relatives that the total number of absolute visits is actually larger.

On the basis of these data, and much more than can be reported in this brief summary, Mindel (1978) reports these conclusions about the Chicano families he studied:

> very close to their parents and siblings, but less so with non-nuclear kin...they enjoyed (these visits), although there was an element of dependence...very little aid and support with kin outside the nuclear family of orientation...more matrilocal...more likely to be surrounded by and in more frequent contact with kin of the wife...much greater level of exchange of aid and support with the kin of the wife.

La Familia: Conclusions

At this point I would like to summarize the major points of this presentation. First, there is the idea that while reality can be pursued using either a humanistic or scientific model of analyses, we ultimately decide what is "real" on the basis of personal experience. Second, "myths" exist which have been circulated and accepted as "real," despite the fact that the experience base to document them is sparse or nonexistent. Third, one such myth concerns la familia which is typically described in such negative terms

as to be unrecognizable. I am referring, of course, to the stereotypic pattern of macho men and submissive females who become patriarchal fathers and compliant mothers. The fourth point covered the "pathology model" which assumes that the social ills people experience--in this case, Hispanics--are due to some maladaptive aspect of their culture. For example, the Hispanic family "causes" poverty, crime, hunger, and so on. The fifth point concerns a rejection of this myth based on subjective data such as personal life experiences combined with more objective, scientifically-based information. The sixth point has been implied throughout, and will be emphasized through repetition here. The Hispanic culture in general, and la familia in particular, are wonderful devices to teach people how to cope. Were it not so, the forces of prejudice, discrimination, and oppression would have destroyed us long ago. I know this to be true, but nevertheless urge continued study--from both the humanistic and scientific perspectives--to prove it to others.

Footnotes

[1]The preparation of this manuscript was supported in part by National Institute of Mental Health Research Grant MH 24854.

[2]This manuscript is respectfully dedicated to my beloved aunt and uncle. Their lives have shown me that the ultimate source of warmth, love, and security lies in family life.

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Overview, Part II: A Reflection

Gloria Valencia-Weber, H. Stephen Caldwell, and Kenneth D. Sandvold

The Multicultural Society

Developing a productive multicultural society requires confronting some counter-productive patterns of thought and behavior. This overview focuses upon two important patterns: the dichotomous perception of ethnicity, and the use of stereotypes. Two responses to these patterns are the need to recognize differences in cultural values, including the use of ethnic values and continuity to define the self, and the need for ethnic individuals and groups to exercise power to control their lives. Consideration of these ideas leads to a discussion of the way bicultural individuals function in a multicultural society and the implications for those who provide mental health care. For stylistic convenience we shall use the term "bicultural" when referring to ethnic individuals. There are some ethnic citizens who are a blend of more than two ancestries. Such persons are truly the result of a multicultural environment, yet they often identify themselves as bicultural. For purposes of this chapter discussion, multicultural will be used to describe the overall society of the United States which is a mosaic of distinct subunits of ethnically identifiable groups.

Dichotomous Perception of Ethnicity

People often operate with a dichotomous perception. In everyday life this takes the form of classifying people, objects, and behaviors into imcompatible categories, including positive and negative. This dichotomous perception promotes a tendency to force a choice of only one acceptable lifestyle. It is possible to judge more than one cultural lifestyle as legitimate and positive. However, dichotomous thinking allows only one lifestyle to be utilized from among different positively-regarded options. Cultural conflict, which does exist to some degree, is frequently seen as

the entire picture of interaction between ethnic and nonethnic groups. For many people, including some ethnic minority members, cultural conflict seems resolvable only by choosing or imposing one cultural lifestyle over another. This dichotomous view when applied in the United States often means ethnic culture is seen as undesirable. In this dichotomous framework, the positive features of ethnic life are therefore overlooked or interpreted as pathological. The ethnic language, group identity, network support, group traditions and religious beliefs made the survival of ethnic groups possible. Yet these ethnic cultural factors are not considered as positive elements in the past history or in the present status of the ethnic individuals and communities.

To reach the goal of a productive, ethnically diverse society, each ethnic culture must be recognized as having legitimacy and as being a positive feature of life in the United States. The face validity of this position belies its difficulty and complexity. For instance, some do not recognize Black Americans as having a legitimate ethnic culture, though this recognition might be given to Hispanics or American Indians. The enriching role of Black English cannot be perceived if people regard such language as "bad English" rather than as an ethnic language. This relates directly to current trends in mental health and clinical psychology which emphasize the need for practitioners to clarify personal values and become aware of multicultural differences. These trends reject the choosing of one cultural lifestyle over another as a solution to culture conflict. Such a dichotomous perception has historical precedents which pervade the mental health anecdotal and research literature. These humanists provide actuarial as well as personal insight into the inflexibility and limiting characteristics of such a position. The richness and complexity of a multi-

cultural society are stultified through the dichotomous perspective. Also destructive of a multicultural society is the perception that differences are pathological. On the contrary, at a societal level, rather than being pathological, differences have served to maintain group identity and personal identity.

An appreciation of this movement toward a nonpathological orientation is reflected in the revisions of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM). The manual was first published in 1952 (DSM-I), revised in 1968 (DSM-II), and most recently revised in 1980 (DSM-III). This manual is the only classification recognized by the various disciplines in the mental health field and is coordinated with the International Classification of Diseases which was adopted by the World Health Organization in 1967. The importance of the views expressed, implicitly and explicitly, within the manual, are therefore of great significance to the relationship between mental health professionals and society.

An example from one category can illustrate the changing view. DSM-I, in 1952, listed a category of Dyssocial Reaction to include "...individuals who manifest disregard for the usual social codes and often come into conflict with them, as a result of having lived all their lives in an abnormal moral environment." A disclaimer is included which states that these persons typically are not deviant except in adhering to alternative values. In DSM-I the reference groups are termed predatory, criminal, or other social groups. Simply being a member of a group with alternative values was sufficient for an individual to be labeled with a sociopathic personality disorder; that is, to be labeled pathological. In the 1968 revision, this category was moved to a classification entitled Conditions Without Manifest Psychiatric Disorder and the reference to social groups was eliminated. However, "...racketeers, dishonest gamblers, prostitutes,

and dope peddlers" were listed as examples. DSM-III (1980) does not include Dyssocial Reaction. Group membership and alternative lifestyles are no longer considered to be sufficient reasons for the assignment of a pathological label.

While these changes may appear to be largely semantic and thus inconsequential, they have very far reaching effects on individual lives. The point of this is that the professional view of individual differences, group memberships, and identity has been scrutinized and changed by mental health professionals. The differences among people based on group and/or ethnic identity demand the same scrutiny.

Use of Stereotypes

Stereotypes of ethnic people persist despite subjective and objective data to the contrary. Though these stereotypes can be seemingly positive, the persistence in utilizing the stereotype can have negative effects. For example, Chinese Americans are seen as a model ethnic population without mental health problems. However, as Sue points out, this perception prevents the development of sensitivity to the serious mental health needs of Chinese Americans. Often the stereotype is negative, as when Hispanics are seen as having an authoritarian male family structure which is then identified as the cause of stress and mental health problems. This perception overlooks unemployment, underemployment, inadequate housing, or poor health care as sources of stress and family problems.

While several of these humanists refer directly or indirectly to stereotyping, Ruiz points out definite stereotypes of one ethnic group, Hispanics, and the research refuting these stereotypes. This laudable effort, however, becomes miniscule when one considers the full range and

extent of stereotyping by and about all humans. If we have a fundamental law in this area, it would appear to be that all persons are averse to thinking about other persons as individuals, preferring the path of least effort in dealing only with a few others individually and the great remaining mass in categories. While this may be energy efficient for us as private persons, it is not efficient——in fact, it is disastrous to us as mental health professionals.

The problems of a majority worker with a minority client are well known. The multiple facets of a client's life are difficult enough to understand when working with a client of background similar to that of the therapist. The problems become overwhelming when working with a client of another and unknown background. It is here that professionals fall back to stereotypes, and thus view the person not as an individual, but rather as a representative of an ill-defined group. We are aware of this false view in such statements as "Let them eat cake," but we are not aware of equally absurd notions in our practice. Ruiz's research should be read and reread with the readers extending these findings to question other attitudes toward Hispanics and other groups. The attitudes of minorities (however defined) toward themselves and toward other minority and nonminority persons are important aspects of stereotyping which are often overlooked. There is, for example, a view among some economically disadvantaged that all white majority people live as depicted in television and films. The reality that many whites do not enjoy an affluent television-style life is not recognized by some ethnic poor people. This stereotypic perception prevents the economically and politically disadvantaged minority and nonminority from working together on mutually experienced problems such

as housing and health care needs. One of the authors of this overview relates another form of stereotypic behavior: "While an intern, I remarked to one of my psychologist supervisors, a black female with a Ph.D., that my neighbor's gardener drove a better car than I did. She asked me if the gardener was black. I said, 'Yes.' She said, 'Those people are that way, you know.'" Until we achieve the broad-based education and training described in another section, all professionals, minority and majority, will continue to be ineffective in their approach to all clients by virtue of their stereotyping. As one moves toward a multicultural society, an individual has to drop stereotyping as a dichotomous approach. The ability to use multiple models of human behavior in interactions will be essential. This more flexible style of interaction, which focuses on the individual rather than on a stereotypic group, will also be necessary for ethnic people to judge fairly and react realistically to other ethnic and nonminority people.

Ethnic Values and the Definition of Self

Ethnic cultural values which differ from majority cultural values are significant, but are often ignored or discounted. Values are the "ought to/ought not to" guides to behavior. Between ethnic and nonethnic populations, values differ mostly in terms of time and use of time, the person's relationships with nature, styles of activity and work, and relationships with other persons. Especially important to mental health are the interpersonal relational value differences discussed by these humanistic writers. The four ethnic populations described in the papers maintain a strong commitment to consensual (family, group, network) needs and goals rather than to individualism as the primary guide to behavior and definition of the self. It is quite possible for ethnic individuals to achieve success

which outwardly does not differ from that of persons motivated by the individualistic goals often promoted as the American ideal. However, the four ethnic groups discussed would motivate their members to success with consensual goals and support. In some matters, such as a medicine man healing ceremony, success is not possible if individualism intrudes and the consensual goal is not shared by all participants.

Defining the self predominantly on a consensual basis includes continuity as an important part of the process of developing a personality. Continuity with the ethnic group's relational network, history, language, and religious beliefs is integral both to developing and maintaining the consensual or community identification. The writers describing ethnic lifestyles discuss the importance of continuity. It is described as continuity of one's life with others and with the past. Continuity is seen by the individual as part of a larger meaning, part of a total cycle. Practices of the groups in power are seen as having broken this continuity. As Mohr indicates, when indigenous Puerto Rico Indians, the Tainos, would not do slave labor for the Spanish, the Tainos were eliminated. To replace the Tainos, Black Africans were imported to Puerto Rico. Thus, two ethnic populations had their cultures and continuity damaged in order to serve the needs of a conquering power. In the United States, slavery and immigration policies have been antagonistic to family and community structure. Some ethnic groups specifically were prohibited from bringing family members to America. American Indians were prevented from learning of their heritage in schools which imposed study of only the majority culture. While some of the majority practices may appear benign and the intentions, good, the outcome, as noted by Taylor, can be

taken as an indicator of the true motivation. In terms of mental health, the outcome has not been positive, and the motivation is therefore suspect.

This great difficulty in maintaining continuity is seen as leading to individual frustration. The "melting pot" was conceived by the greater society as mandatory and, as Taylor notes, invitations to participate in it and denials of admission were issued at the same time. The double bind theory of dual conflicting messages with resultant mental health problems is applicable here. A possible solution is offered by several of the authors who propose that an individual can never find a healthy definition of self by using the definition of the antagonist, but only by defining self within the groups offering continuity with the past. For the individual in a multicultural world, this means compromises must be made among the demands of the older ethnic values, the majority values, and the individual needs.

An interesting aspect of self definition comes from Houston's comments on her mother, who stated that she was not meant to be defined on the basis of her work, chores, and responsibilities. Scrubbing floors did not make her a scrub-woman, nor did any other aspect of her work limit her self definition. She preferred to be seen as a "mother," and the chores were merely things she did to fulfill her chosen role. This definition by one aspect is akin to definition by disease, e.g., "the gall bladder in room three," instead of "the woman with a diseased gall bladder," or "that schizophrenic" rather than "the man with a schizophrenic disorder." The attempts by the majority to define others as "that black" rather than "that man who is black" continue the pattern. Until people are seen as total persons, that is, not defined by one aspect, full self definition is seen by several of the humanist writers as impossible.

Three of the writers (Houston, Mohr, Washington) discuss the double bind situation of ethnic women. Ethnicity and sex interact to subject ethnic women to double discrimination and to a difficult process to define a feminine self that is acceptable to both ethnic and nonethnic cultures. The development of the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s has both enriched and complicated the self defining process. The ethnic female's efforts to retain some cultural traditions are often misinterpreted by more liberated nonminority women as submission to domestic "colonialism." Washington mentioned that the development of the strongly-defined woman in black history and literature was not appreciated because of a lack of knowledge and appreciation of what actually occurred in black history or of what has been produced in black literature. Mohr (1977) extended her presentation beyond the written paper to include a reading from her short story, "But I Never Even Seen My Father." In this story, a Puerto Rican woman is released from prison and seeks psychotherapy to help with real life survival problems. The therapist ignores her need for work, shelter, and a life pattern to avoid the activities that sent her to prison. He tells her that the source of her problems is her long denied wish to sleep with her father. The woman protests that prior to her birth her mother was abandoned by the father and that she has never even seen her father. This moving story better reveals the tragic inappropriateness of some therapy approaches than much of the data on the use of mental health services by women and ethnic individuals. Houston states in her paper that contemporary ethnic women experience many dilemmas and joys. She also points out that one can live a feminine life which utilizes the richness of an ethnic tradition without sacrificing the rights and opportunities contemporary women expect to exercise.

While definition of the person, whether by the self or others, cannot be totally based on one aspect such as ethnicity, the cultural orientation of the individual is important. Sue particularly notes this in his discussion of the emphasis by many Asians on internal rather than external control. He feels this difference is important when assessing the personal resources an individual may bring to therapy. Sue also indicates, however, that biculturism means a distinct identity different from either of the cultures that form it. Given this, an analysis of the individual cannot be accurately gained from an understanding of either culture, but only from individual assessment. While that may seem to be a truism, all of these authors warn against the use of stereotypes.

Power

These humanistic writers also noted that contemporary ethnic populations have a need for power, the power to control their lives, which was denied in past experiences. Though the nature of power and its limits do vary, there is agreement on the need for power to control one's own identity. Without power to control, the person or group is invisible. In a circular trap, as long as that invisibility continues, the power to control one's destiny is unattainable. Escape from invisibility requires a self definition based to some degree on the values of those unlike the self. The values of others must be rejected in so far as they are negative. For example, rejection is necessary for those values which lead to defining blacks as inferior, Asians as stoic, and Hispanics as peon playboys, with these definitions based only on ethnic identity. It is this historic stereotyping, along with laws and legal definitions upholding the stereotyping, that is seen as destructive to the individual and the group.

The solution to these destructive patterns is not clear. Some agreement among these humanistic writers is seen on the need first to define the self. This definition must include the self within the context and continuity of the family of man, particularly that group which has a similarity of tradition. It is after this development of solidarity that group power can have a potential. Self identity is a necessary prelude to the development of a full group identity which in turn is a necessary prelude to the achievement of power. Power, here, is used in its full context--individual and group, psychological and political. Taylor's view that interchange is needed, and that tension within the interchange is necessary for growth, appears at first glance to be opposed to the concept of group solidarity. However, Taylor addressed himself to group change through individual change. He viewed intergroup tension as best reduced by behavior changes (albeit mandatory) which may then be followed by attitude changes, rather than the reverse. This has significant implications for the procedures used by political units to achieve equality. Equality is seen as the only base upon which acceptance and integration can occur.

The view of medicine men on power is somewhat different, but similarities are still evident. Mohatt and Eagle Elk state that power cannot be obtained by seeking it; it comes to those who are destined to possess it. Power is also limited both minimally and maximally. One does as the "vision" directs, no more and no less. This, however, refers to the power given to an individual. For the group to share in this power (here, the power of healing) all must be joined, must be of one mind, must believe in the power and the holder of the power. This solidarity of thought and purpose is identical to the views of the other authors; that is, acceptance of self within the group context, and acceptance of the group's identity, meaning, and purpose,

must precede the use of the power for effective action to be taken.

These humanistic writers point to group power as necessary to give bicultural persons a positive function in society. The authors further emphasize the need for political power to affect American government and institutions. Public policies and programs on housing, health, education, and law enforcement do affect the mental health of ethnic populations. However, as Taylor states, achieving higher levels of education and earning power do not necessarily provide the political power to determine governmental policy. A sharing of political power is advocated as essential for all Americans, ethnic and nonethnic, to achieve an open, multicultural society.

Bicultural Individuals

The granting of legitimacy to bicultural identity and the sharing of power will be necessary in order for ethnic persons to drop some contrived roles presently necessary for survival. Washington's paper describes how black historical heroes and folk heroes like Brer Rabbit used manipulative, staged behaviors as a survival tool. Ethnic individuals, like all other members of society, have the need to reach a state of personal integration. An individual has achieved an integrated intrapersonal state when homeostasis or balance exists between internal needs and the resouces required to meet personal needs. Achieving homeostasis means interacting with the external world and utilizing ways to function successfully with others. However, the measure of reaching the integrated state is an internal one. Being satisfied with the control one can exercise in personal life and experiencing success in day-to-day efforts and interactions are essential for all persons. Reaching a state of personal integration is neither an easy nor an automatic

process. Excessive use of manipulative behaviors, sometimes essential for ethnic survival in the past, can only complicate a necessary human process. Cultural integration means more than racial mixing in society: it means ethnic individuals functioning in an honest manner as multifaceted, bicultural persons in a society which respects ethnic diversity.

Respect for ethnic diversity means that positive and complementary relationships between the values of ethnic groups can be used for the mutual benefit of many outside the ethnic community. For instance, some ethnic communities have ways to maintain the traditional value of respecting and utilizing their elderly. Perhaps the dilemmas of many majority culture persons about what to do with their displaced elderly could be addressed with approaches used by some ethnic groups. In mental health care, a mutual cultural exchange is occurring in the use of network therapy. This approach is based on American Indian community networks and was developed by an American Indian psychologist (Attneave, 1969). In resolving individual or family problems, all members of the network participate in the therapy and resolution activities. American Indians are not the only beneficiaries of such efforts, as the approach has effectiveness with persons from many cultures.

Reaching a personally-integrated state will not eliminate all problems for ethnic persons, as there will always be a tension between individual needs and the group needs and demands. Ethnic individuals have had to use coping and survival skills which were developed within the ethnic group. These skills made survival possible in the past. Even in an open, multicultural society some of these coping mechanisms (language, behavior patterns, customs and rituals, etc.) will need to be maintained. The struggles and coping

strategies used in the past will not be exactly the same for contemporary or future generations. There is need to develop an awareness of the difference between those coping and survival skills which are reflective of ethnic heritage and those which are defense mechanisms which may be pathological. Remaining in ethnic community isolation, by refusing to learn any English or refusing to interact with anyone outside of the ethnic community, may seem to simplify life. However, such an approach surrenders entirely the power to control one's life, as there is not opportunity to share and exercise power with the majority population.

Again, differences cannot be equated with pathology. However, within any group, minority, or majority, coping behaviors which do not reflect cultural awareness and sensitivity may move into the pathological domain. Working through the process of differentiating coping mechanisms which reflect ethnic heritage from those which are defense mechanisms will further challenge the mental health field. Traditional intervention strategies and therapeutic methods will not be appropriate. Attneave's network therapy moved the focus of treatment from the isolated individual to the individual's total personal support system. This made possible a mode of therapy acceptable for Indians and others who have avoided traditional individualistic approaches. Besides developing new mental health approaches, there is also the challenge of including whole new clinical populations whose needs have been overlooked or for whom past mental health care has been inappropriate.

We strive to live in a multicultural world, yet this goal has often been lost--at least it appears to be lost when one examines the content and context of most mental health professional training programs. If differences

are attended to, they are, as Taylor noted, treated as error variance. The need for attention by professionals to persons within their culture is long past due. But, as seen in other aspects of human interactions, the mental health profession also has had to be led to the necessary changes in its attitudes via a mandated change in behavior. Only with the January, 1979, approval by the American Psychological Association (APA) of new guidelines for accreditation of professional programs has a definitive view been taken on ethnic and other nonmajority populations. The new guidelines speak to the need to be sensitive to cultural and individual differences in the selection of students and in the training of all students. For many programs, faculty attitudes and perceptions do not allow for easy shifts to accommodate these changes. The usual cry of lowering of standards is heard again. Programs are likely to follow one of two courses, both destined for failure. The first is to select only those diverse students and prospective faculty who have stellar qualities and are thus guaranteed success in an unchanged program. The second is to accept persons on the sole criterion of ethnic identity without regard for other qualifications. This will fulfill the requirements for numbers, but dooms these people to flounder and fail in an unchanged program. In the first instance, minority members are trained, but not for work with minorities. In the second, minority members are not trained, and the pattern of failure and the stereotyped image are continued and reinforced. In neither instance are nonminority students trained to work with the mental health concerns of America's diverse populations. In both situations no change has been made in the training program, and therefore no change can be expected in the attitudes of other faculty and students.

The achievement of the full intent of the APA guidelines and of the equality of which Taylor speaks will come only when mental health training programs change admissions policies, augment course content, extend practicum facilities, and broaden the research base. All of these must be directed toward presenting a diverse student body with multiple role models, working with broad-ranged professional problems and people. To admit minority students and then train them in clinics utilized largely by non-minorities will not prepare anyone for professional work with minorities. Bold, broadly-based changes must be made throughout the entire training program. The easy changes will be in student and faculty selection; a somewhat harder change will be in establishing meaningful practicum and internship placements. The most difficult change will be in altering and augmenting our academic courses where, for the preponderance of the content, we do not have the knowledge base on diverse people that we have on the WASP college sophomore and/or white rat. Separate courses on minority issues should serve only as temporary steps while the larger and broader changes are being implemented.

As the psychologists and writers point out in the seminar papers, tension can become the force for creative, satisfying lives which utilize the best of multiple cultures. This tension does not necessarily have to lead to rejection of one culture or to problems derived from continuous cultural conflicts. For some ethnic individuals, their roles as bicultural persons will include some extra demands. These persons, such as the authors of these papers, are the pioneers in mediating between different cultures and in promoting understanding, acceptance, and political change. Individuals will experience demands from their own ethnic groups and from the majority

society--an interaction which can create unique tension. The bicultural pioneers will include mental health professionals. However, the most successful of these mediating ethnic persons will include those who approach life from differing perspectives, such as the non-scientific, non-professional, or non-analytical views. To view life from a humanistic viewpoint does not automatically mean adopting an anti-scientific approach. Empirically-derived data, combined with a concern for human values, is probably the ideal way to fairly and honestly study ethnic lifestyles. As the preceding chapters demonstrate, this humanistic approach can be used by gifted ethnic persons to effectively explain to all persons the experiences, dilemmas, and positive factors of multicultural life.

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